

## Prophecy – A Sign for Believers (1 Cor 14,20-25)

### The Problem

In his Corinthian dialogue on the spiritual gifts, Paul focuses upon the relationship between speaking in tongues and prophecy (1 Cor 14). Paul's giving priority to prophetic speaking is due to his basic perspective of communication, and his aim is to persuade the Corinthians to adjust their practice according to this perspective. A cautious reading of this letter suggests that the Corinthians valued speaking in tongues as a criterion of spirituality, and that they valued the spiritual gifts according to principles of ecstasy<sup>(1)</sup>. Paul's dialogue on glossolaly and prophecy reaches its climax in 1 Cor 14,20-25. These verses represent the final argument of his strategy for persuading the Corinthians to put the emphasis on prophecy instead. Via the effects of speaking in tongues and prophecy respectively, Paul hopes to convince his converts about the superiority of prophetic speaking. Unfortunately, this climax of his argument is not quite clear, and poses difficulties for the interpreters.

The main difficulties lie with v.22 and its relationship to the illustrations drawn in vv.23-25<sup>(2)</sup>. Paul seems to be asserting that prophecy is not for unbelievers, but for believers (v.22); therefore the Corinthians should prophesy to unbelievers (vv.24-25). Judging by the illustration of vv.24-25 we would expect outsiders to be the addressees of prophecy. The thesis that prophecy is destined for believers is not easily reconciled with the example making the unbeliever

<sup>(1)</sup> See e.g. K. O. SANDNES, *Paul – One of the Prophets? A Contribution to the Apostle's Self-Understanding* (WUNT II/43; Tübingen 1991) 92-93.

<sup>(2)</sup> Scholars rightly introduce their exegesis of these verses by stating that they are extremely difficult; see e.g. B. C. JOHANSON, "Tongues, A Sign for Unbelievers?: A Structural and Exegetical Study of 1 Corinthians XIV. 20-25", *NTS* 25 (1979) 180-203 (see 180); D. A. CARSON, *Showing the Spirit. A Theological Exposition of 1 Corinthians 12-14* (Grand Rapids 1987) 108; G. THEISSEN, *Psychologische Aspekte paulinischer Theologie* (FRLANT 131; Göttingen 1983) 83; G. D. FEE, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians* (NICNT; Grand Rapids 1987) 681.

the address of prophecy. Actually, the role of the believer within this text is puzzling. For Paul's point it would seem sufficient to relate both speaking in tongues and prophecy to the unbeliever, since his argument in vv.23-25 takes him or her as a starting-point. His mention of the believer therefore causes difficulties. The assertion that prophecy is not destined for the unbelievers, but for the believers, is hard to reconcile with the example mentioned in vv.24-25<sup>(3)</sup>.

Scholars have approached this problem from different perspectives<sup>(4)</sup>. A number of scholars argue that Paul is addressing the question of a criterion or sign by which true believers might be recognized. While many Corinthians identify this with speaking in tongues, Paul opposes this and favours prophecy. This point of view has often been combined with the assertion that Paul is here refuting a Corinthian slogan about the tongues being this sign. This interpretation — although with some variation — cuts 1 Cor 14,20-25 off from the main perspective of the chapter. Paul's focus is not confirmation of the individual's membership, but encouragement of his converts to prophesy rather than speak in tongues. His concern is entirely with the Corinthians, with the aim of persuading them to adopt his own perspective on the spiritual gifts. Quite naturally a rhetorical approach to this text has appeared, and is most welcome since this may lead to an interpretation which relates this text more adequately to the argument and line of thought in Paul's whole chapter<sup>(5)</sup>.

Faced with the problem of this text, a fresh solution has recently been provided by Joop F. M. Smit in this journal<sup>(6)</sup>. Smit's solution lies very much within the field of rhetorical criticism. Smit convincingly argues that 1 Cor 14,21-25 form a complete argument, and that v. 22 holds the key position in this passage. Unfortunately, the precise meaning of this very verse is uncertain, and is in need of

<sup>(3)</sup> Johanson says that "no matter how one takes *σημεῖον*, some sort of manipulation of the text, of the term *ἄπιστος*, or explaining away of a phrase seems unavoidable" (JOHANSON, "Tongues", 185).

<sup>(4)</sup> For a list of scholars and their attempts at a solution, see CARSON, *Showing the Spirit*, 109-113.

<sup>(5)</sup> A significant example is, of course, Johanson. Although his solution has met with criticism, his merit is to have drawn the attention to a rhetorical approach to solve the problem.

<sup>(6)</sup> J.F.M. SMIT, "Tongues and Prophecy: Deciphering 1 Cor 14,22", *Bib* 75 (1994) 175-190.

deciphering. The starting point of Smit's consideration is the appearance of σημεῖον and ἐλέγχειν in Paul's text, linked to glossolaly and prophecy respectively. Smit draws his argument from the distinction between different kinds of proofs found in rhetorical handbooks, namely between signs (σημεῖον) and refutation (ἐλέγχος). A sign is not compelling, but leaves room for various interpretations, while a refutation is a proof which irresistibly reveals the truth to the critical hearers. Paul depicts glossolaly as a sign which outsiders necessarily interpret as a madness coming from idols. Prophecy, however, is presented as a refutation confronting the unbelievers with God who addresses them through the believers.

Smit says that v.22 defines tongues as proper not to the believers but to unbelievers, and that prophecy is not inherent to the unbelievers, but to the believers. Speaking in tongues is thus a sign by which the outsider will recognize the unbeliever. Faced with glossolaly the unbeliever will inevitably think of unbelievers. This Smit deduces from the quotation in v.21 which he takes — within this context — to speak of how pagans have been alienated from God by means of tongue-speaking. "God personally declares that ecstatic utterances are a characteristic feature of pagan religion" (7).

Smit has himself provided a helpful outline of the literary and rhetorical context of 1 Cor 14(8). The deliberative aim of this chapter visualised in the topos of advantage, which he himself has pointed out, should guide the interpretation of vv.21-25. Everything Paul says is with a constant purpose of persuading the Corinthians to prophesy rather than speak in tongues. This observation may, however, lead in some other direction than that suggested by Smit. My comments will concern the following points: the topos of common advantage; Paul's deliberative aim of persuading the Corinthians to prophesy; the meaning of 'sign' in this text; the role of the believer in the text.

### Literary Context and the Rhetorical Topos of Common Advantage

1 Cor 14 represents Paul's argument to persuade his converts to make more use of prophecy when they come together. This delibera-

(7) Ibid., 188.

(8) J.F.M. SMIT, "Argument and Genre of 1 Corinthians 12-14", *Rhetoric and the New Testament* (ed. S.E. PORTER – T.H. OLBRICHT) (JSNTSS 90; Sheffield 1993) 211-230.

tive aim can be seen at various points throughout the chapter. Paul openly states his intention for the Corinthian assemblies: "Now I would like all of you to speak in tongues, but even more to prophesy. One who prophesies is greater than one who speaks in tongues, unless someone interprets" (1 Cor 14,5). Although Paul could be critical of their over-evaluation of speaking in tongues, he clearly states that both gifts are good. Paul has a critical attitude towards glossolaly, but he is hardly negative. But prophecy is defined as greater in terms of benefit or advantage.

He wants them to adjust their spiritual life according to this greater good. The entire chapter is permeated by Paul's definition of prophecy as a greater good than glossolaly. This is clearly to be seen in vv. 18-19 and is finally stated in v. 39: "Be eager to prophesy, and do not forbid speaking in tongues". To persuade his Corinthian converts to think likewise and act accordingly is his rhetorical challenge.

To achieve this goal, Paul argues from the perspective of what brings or causes the greater good: Which of the two can benefit the Corinthians most. He points out that prophecy is linked to common advantage, while glossolaly is related to personal benefit (v. 2: λαλεῖν οὐκ ἀνθρώποις ἀλλὰ θεῷ; v. 4: ἑαυτὸν οἰκοδομεῖ). Prophecy thereby contributes to unity among the believers, while speaking in tongues creates alienation. All this is dependent upon prophecy's ability to communicate an understandable message. This perspective of common advantage continues in v. 26: "Let all things be done for building up". Furthermore, v. 28 corresponds quite precisely to v. 2 (ἑαυτῷ δὲ λαλεῖτω καὶ τῷ θεῷ) and v. 31 recalls Paul's definition of the result of the greater good which is prophecy in v. 5, and clearly relates this to fellowship (πάντες). This forms a conscious contrast to the individualistic perspective of glossolaly.

1 Cor 14,20-25 should be seen within this perspective of the edification of or an advantage to fellowship. An indication that this is so are the introductory words of v. 23 (ἐὰν οὖν συνέθῃ ἡ ἐκκλησία) which recalls v. 26 (ὅταν συνέρχησθε). This perspective of advantage or building up fellowship permeates the entire section of 14,1-19 (e.g. vv. 2-5.6.12.16-17). Paul's argument from what benefits or builds up fellowship reaches its climax and conclusion in 14,20-25.

The illustrations of vv. 23-25 about the ἰδιώτης or unbeliever are a continuation of the argument presented in vv. 10-11 (βάρ-



βαρος) and v. 16 (ιδιώτης). These verses describe how speaking fails to convince if understanding is absent — as do the illustrations of vv.23-25. Up to vv.20-25 the rhetorical perspective has been to argue for the presentation of what benefits and build up. In these verses, however, this perspective is brought to its climax, which is what brings judgement upon or salvation to an unbeliever. This is the only place in this chapter where Paul takes his argument from the perspective of the outsiders.

Paul's thinking echoes his saying in 1 Cor 10,31-33 where he urges a Christian lifestyle to be formed according to what brings salvation (ἵνα σωθῶσιν). In that particular text this attitude is contrasted to seeking one's own best (μὴ ζητῶν τὸ ἑμᾶυτοῦ σύμφορον) which corresponds to the basic contrast in chap. 14 between building up fellowship and individual edification (v.4 and v.28 in particular). This is the way Paul here argues from what brings the greater good. From this the Corinthians will, he hopes, be convinced that they *should* prophesy rather than speak in tongues. The perspective of advantage puts the emphasis on Paul's deliberative aim with respect to the Corinthians in this text.

The argument from the advantage or common benefit is a frequently used topos in First Corinthians (1 Cor 6,12; 7,35; 8,1; 10,3-24; 13,5)<sup>(9)</sup>. The aim of this terminology in Paul's context is not primarily to combat factionalism<sup>(10)</sup>, but to persuade the Corinthians to prophesy at the expense of speaking in tongues. Seeking the advantage of others for Paul represents a theological pattern derived from his Christology (Phil 2,1-4; Rom 15,2.7; 1 Cor 13,5).

Formally speaking, this topos of advantage and benefit corresponds to a common rhetorical topos described by Aristotle,

<sup>(9)</sup> See M. MITCHELL, *Paul and the Rhetoric of Reconciliation. An Exegetical Investigation of the Language and Composition of 1 Corinthians* (Hermeneutische Untersuchungen zur Theologie 28; Tübingen 1991). She pays attention to the political nature of Paul's terminology, such as συμφέρειν, ὠφελεῖν, οἰκοδομεῖν, οἰκοδομή. The appeal to common advantage in these and similar terms is frequently found in ancient political literature combating factionalism and urging unity. She thus compares First Corinthians with ancient political literature related to the issue of factionalism. Unfortunately, Mitchell does not contribute very much to the passage with which we are concerned.

<sup>(10)</sup> This concern is, however, not unrelated to the question of factionalism; see SANDNES, *Paul – One of the Prophets?*, 105-107.

namely that of “employing the consequence to exhort or dissuade, accuse or defend, praise or blame” (*Rhet.* I. 23,14). The philosopher says that it is a general truth that people will feel obliged to do what yields the best consequences<sup>(11)</sup>. The topos of consequence is related to and subordinated to the rhetorical discussion of greater and smaller (Aristotle, *Rhet.* I. 6,1-7,41). In this text, Aristotle presents topics from which arguments may be drawn in order to persuade. Generally speaking, “things which produce a greater good are greater” (*Rhet.* I. 6,7), and “things that last longer are preferable to those that are of shorter duration” (*Rhet.* I. 7,26). Paul echoes this way of thinking. For Paul ‘good’ is to be defined as the salvation brought by Jesus’ dying on the cross (1 Cor 1,18); in short, salvation. This is the perspective, the real and lasting good, from which he is drawing his argument in 1 Cor 14,20-25. Paul is making use of this ‘good’ for the purpose of instructing his converts, as he has done elsewhere in his letter (1 Cor 8,11-13; 10,31-33). His own mission strategy corresponded to this topos of the greater good, which for Paul was to win everyone (1 Cor 9,19-23). It is no surprise that this perspective is lent force when Paul is approaching the question of spiritual gifts as well.

#### Quotation from Scripture (v. 21)

As Paul is about to introduce the climax of his argument, he appeals to the spiritual maturity of his converts. This means that they should be mature in terms of Christian logic. A childish attitude should not be transferred to the realm of reasoning. This encouragement is in line with Paul’s frequent use of cognitive terms elsewhere in this chapter<sup>(12)</sup>: v. 2 ἀκοῦειν (should be rendered “understand”); vv. 7-8 γινώσκειν; vv. 11,16 οἶδα; vv. 14-15 νοῦς; v. 19 κατηχεῖν. V. 20 has thus a function similar to 1 Cor 10,15 “I speak as to sensible people; judge for yourselves what I say” and 1 Cor 11,13 “judge for yourselves”. Paul appeals to the Corinthians to

<sup>(11)</sup> Plato provides a good example of how the topos of consequence may be used in his dialogue *Phaedros*; see especially 238E-245C. The speeches found here demonstrate how the philosopher argues from the topos of advantage or harm. In *Phaedros* this topos appears with no view to factionalism; it is simply a useful rhetorical topos from which to argue and persuade.

<sup>(12)</sup> For Paul’s emphasis on cognitive terms see E. BAASLAND, “Cognitio Dei im Römerbrief”, *SNTU* 14 (1989) 185-218.

consider the implications of common Christian experience. By means of reasoning he draws an argument from practical life (vv. 23-25). His main argument in the following is from Scripture. This gives to the OT quotation the role of an example taken from Scripture. According to rhetorical practice, examples and witnesses were to be taken from people of reputation and standing, thus encouraging the audience to imitate the attitudes displayed (Cicero, *Her.* IV. 1,2-2,1; Aristotle, *Rhet.* I. 15,13-19). Paul could not, of course, think of any better example than what he found in the Holy Scriptures, the highest norm and authority. Paul considers both reason or logic and the Scripture to be concordant as to ‘the highest good’ when applied to the issue of this chapter: what brings salvation to the outsider should guide the Corinthians in the issue of spiritual gifts. Reasoning as well as the Scripture shows that this greater good is not conveyed by means of speaking in tongues.

Paul quotes from Isa 28,11-12. In its OT context, this is a statement of judgement upon Israel. The Israelites refused to listen to God when He addressed them by means of understandable language. Now, He is approaching them by means of foreign tongues, the Assyrian language. The foreign language which is beyond understanding is a sign of God’s judgement upon Israel. By means of foreign tongues God confirms Israel’s disbelief (cf. Isa 6). Paul considers this text a proof-text on speaking in tongues. His reading is out of context with the OT. He alters the text considerably, and gives to it a new meaning.

It is, of course, not by accident that Paul here quotes Isa 28,11-12. There is a connection by means of key words between Paul’s concern and this OT text. LXX’s διὰ γλώσσης ἑτέρας recalls Paul’s λαλεῖν γλώσση (cf. the use of ἕτερος in 1 Cor 14,17). This connection is strengthened by Paul’s replacement of LXX’s διὰ φανλισμὸν χειλέων with ἐν χεῖλεσιν ἑτέρων λαλήσω. This connection on the level of terminology is found within an OT context of judgement<sup>(13)</sup>. The reference and meaning of Paul’s

(13) For Paul’s alterations of this text, see F. S. MALAN, “The Use of the Old Testament in 1 Corinthians”, *Neot* 14 (1981) 134-170 (154-157 in particular); D.-A. KOCH, *Die Schrift als Zeuge. Untersuchungen zur Verwendung und zum Verständnis der Schrift bei Paulus* (BHT 69; Tübingen 1986) 63-66.

quotation, however, has to be found within the context of 1 Cor 14. The function and meaning given to the quotation by Paul is thus crucial to the interpretation. The following observations indicate the new meaning given to this text.

1) The perspective of judgement in its OT setting is not emphasised here. The outsiders are not being blamed for their disbelief within a context urging the Corinthians to address them by means of understandable communication. On the other hand, within this chapter it is also unlikely that Paul is pronouncing divine judgement on the Corinthians for speaking in tongues. Tongue-speaking is valued positively as a good (see vv. 2.18.39) although prophecy is higher.

2) Although Paul is deducing a statement (v. 22a) from the quotation, he is not involved in exegesis. He quotes the text not in order to provide an interpretation, but to present a proof-text. V. 22 is best understood from what follows rather than what precedes in the text.

3) Although there is a connection between the quotation and the example introduced in v. 23, these two are not parallels:

	Quotation	V. 23
Who is speaking?	God	Corinthians
What kind of speaking?	Tongue-speaking	Tongue-speaking
To whom?	Israel (λαός)	Outsiders
Consequence	Will not understand	Cannot understand.

These observations favour the view that Paul is making a very limited use of this scriptural quotation<sup>(14)</sup>. The point of comparison between quotation and situation (v. 23) is a simple one: God once<sup>(15)</sup> approached Israel with tongues, and the result was that their disbelief was confirmed. Now the Corinthians are speaking in tongues while outsiders are present, which causes the latter to abandon the Christian fellowship as being mad. Paul proves his main point; speaking in tongues is not able to convey adequate

<sup>(14)</sup> Cf. 2 Cor 4,13 where Paul quotes Ps 115,1 for the very reason that this authority provides him with the keywords in his logic (πιστεύειν and λαλεῖν).

<sup>(15)</sup> Paul's future tense (λαλήσω) can hardly be given any weight since LXX itself has this sense (λαλήσουσιν).

understanding of God's message. On the contrary, it confirms disbelief. Formally speaking, Paul's use of the OT here may be illuminated by 1QH 4,16, where the same text (Isa 28,11) is referred to. This text is used within a description of false prophets. They speak to God's people with strange lips and an alien tongue. This is, of course, out of context with OT. Isa 28,11 is used in this Psalm not for reasons of exegesis, but because keywords which may be related to the issue at stake are found in it. Reading Paul's quotation in a similar way means that further details from the quotation should not be given any force in the exegesis of this text.

### Verse 22 and σημεῖον

On the basis of rhetorical handbooks, Smit makes a strong case for his approach concerning sign and refutation. According to Smit, Paul considered glossolaly to be a sign in need of corroboration; it is not compelling, while by its very nature prophecy is a revealing and irrefutable proof. I doubt that Paul here is drawing upon this technical rhetorical distinction. The noun ἑλεγχος does not appear in Paul's text, only the cognate verb. This is, of course, not compelling, but may indicate that we are not dealing with the rhetorical term here. Smit's presentation of glossolaly as a sign in need of corroboration does not quite fit his own interpretation of the text. In his description, glossolaly appears as almost pagan in nature. The unbeliever would, according to Smit, inevitably consider glossolaly as pagan μανία<sup>(16)</sup>. This presentation of glossolaly hardly fits Smit's description of it as a sign "leaving room for various interpretations"<sup>(17)</sup>.

In my opinion, the reference of the verb ἐλέγχω in v. 24 is not that of rhetorical argumentation, but of apocalyptic revelation. This verb has its synonym in ἀνακρίνω:

ἐλέγχεται ὑπὸ πάντων  
ἀνακρίνεται ὑπὸ πάντων.

This is defined as an uncovering of the human heart in line with 1 Cor 4,5: "Therefore do not pronounce judgement before the time, before the Lord comes, who will bring to light the things now

<sup>(16)</sup> SMIT, "Tongues", 189.

<sup>(17)</sup> Ibid., 181.

hidden in darkness and will disclose the purposes of the heart” (NRSV). Contemporary prophecy was a means of revealing hidden knowledge of divine mysteries as well as the inmost thoughts of the human heart<sup>(18)</sup>.

V. 22 is formed as a conclusion where the first part of the verse represents the point Paul draws from the OT text<sup>(19)</sup>. The last part of this verse, however, is not indicated by this quotation, but is an anticipated conclusion drawn on the basis of vv. 24-25. The examples are connected with v. 22 by the particle οὖν, and also by the antithetic parallelism found in both sections<sup>(20)</sup>. The parallel structure of v. 22a and b suggests that we take σημεῖον to refer to both parts of the sentence. The meaning of σημεῖον followed by a dative is, of course, substantial to any interpretation of this verse. Some difficulties in the history of interpretation for this text may possibly have been caused by the shift from negative to positive related to this word in v. 22.

Two observations from within Paul’s own text will guide our investigation into the meaning of this keyword. In the first place, Paul gives σημεῖον a cognitive aspect; it is a means of understanding or lack thereof. From this follows that σημεῖον may be interpreted differently depending on the perspectives of those involved. In brief, an insider has a different interpretation of a sign than an outsider. These two observations lead our way to the LXX and the Exodus tradition in particular. The people of God realize, thanks to σημεῖα, that God is among them, in the midst of their trials (Exod 4,31 ὅτι ἐπεσκέψατο ὁ θεὸς τοὺς υἱοὺς Ἰσραὴλ). Pharaoh, however, did not understand (καὶ οὐκ εἰσακούσεται) (Exod 7,3-4). LXX here has the same verb as Paul in his quotation; so also in Exod 7,13 and 11,9.

This double aspect — understanding and lack thereof — of the Exodus signs is found in Josephus as well (*Ant.* 2.283-284). It becomes a sign of judgement to Israel when they are not able to have the appropriate understanding of God’s σημεῖα (Num 14,11;

<sup>(18)</sup> SANDNES, *Paul – One of the Prophets?*, 95-98 and the reference given there.

<sup>(19)</sup> For ὥστε as introducing a conclusion, see references in THEISSEN, *Psychologische Aspekte*, 84.

<sup>(20)</sup> This is pointed out also by L. HARTMAN, “1 Cor 14,1-25: Argument and Some Problems”, *Charisma und Agape (1 Ko 12-14)* (ed. L. DE LORENZI) (Monographische Reihe von Benedictina 7; Rom 1983) 149-169; see 157-158 and SMIT, “Tongues”, 179-180 as well.

Deut 29,2-4; Ps 73,9); they then become as outsiders in terms of knowing and understanding God's ways. Immanuel, the son of the virgin (παρθένης) has the potential of being both a sign of promise and a sign of judgement, all depending on the belief or disbelief of the king (Isa 7,14; cfr. Jer 10,2). The signs of the false prophets mentioned by Josephus were interpreted as signs of deliverance by their followers, while others, the Romans in particular, took them to be signs of insurrection (*J. W.* 2.259; cfr. 6.285). In his *Jewish War* Book 6, Josephus tells of the many signs or omens that occurred in the time leading up to the destruction of the Temple. He states that the many σημεῖα were interpreted differently by the ἰδιῶται and οἱ λόγιοι (the learned or skilled):

This again to the uninitiated seemed the best of omens, as they supposed that God had opened to them the gate of blessings; but the learned understood that the security of the temple was dissolving of its own accord and that the opening of the gate meant a present to the enemy, interpreting the portent in their own minds as indicative of coming desolation (*J. W.* 6.295-296).

This text clearly shows that σημεῖον may have connotations of both judgement and salvation, all depending on whether the sign is considered by an insider or outsider.

A relevant Pauline text here is 1 Cor 1,22, saying that Jews demand signs, and the Greeks seek wisdom. In this context, the signs demanded by the Jews refer to powerful deeds performed to convince (cf. 2 Cor 12,12). Paul formulates 1 Cor 1,24 as the contrast to this demand of the Jews as well as the Gentiles' demand for wisdom.

V. 21

the Jews demand signs  
the Greeks seek wisdom

V. 24

Christ is the power of God (δύναμις)  
Christ is God's wisdom (σοφία)

In other words, the sign demanded by the Jews is already present among them, but they failed to recognize it; they interpreted the crucified Christ falsely. For the insiders, however, Jews as well as Gentiles, it is quite clear that Christ fulfills both demands if correctly understood.

This holds true also for many other σημεῖα texts in the NT. In Matt 12,38-42 par the Pharisees are given the role of the outsider *vis-à-vis* the Jonah sign, while the presumed outsiders, the Gentiles, have the appropriate knowledge and understanding. Similarly in

John 2,18-22 the Jews ask for a sign. Jesus responds by describing the destruction and re-building of the Temple. They failed to see this as an adequate sign because they did not understand that Jesus was talking about himself (cf. John 12,37).

As for the dative, it refers to the recipient or for whom the sign is meant. The use of the preposition εἰς plus the accusative is common with verbs like εἶναι, γίνεσθαι or the like<sup>(21)</sup>. Paul's grammatical construction in 1 Cor 14,22 is to be understood in the same way. A text which brings out both the double aspect of the biblical σημεῖον and Paul's use of the dative is Luke 2,34: "This child is destined for the falling and the rising of many in Israel, and to be a sign that will be opposed" (NRSV).

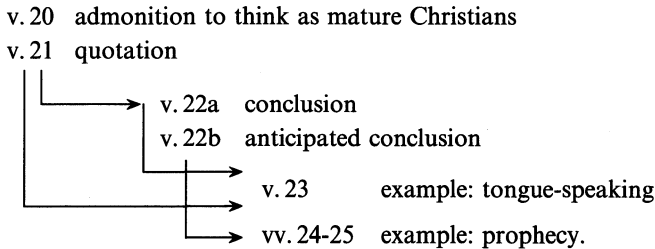
Applied to Paul's conclusion (v.22) this material means that speaking in tongues as well as prophecy are signs that are interpreted differently by insiders and outsiders. This verse is not a denial that speaking in tongues is a sign to the believers as well, or that prophecy also is a sign to the outsiders. Paul is not concerned to give a balanced presentation; his aim leads him to focus upon tongue-speaking *vis-à-vis* outsiders and prophecy in relation to insiders. The double aspect of signs being understandable and at the same time not perceivable by insiders and outsiders may be a key to clarification of the enigmatic relationship between v.22b and the illustration in vv.24-25. To the outsiders the Corinthian practice of speaking in tongues is a sign that the Christian preaching is beyond their understanding. Tongue-speaking manifests lack of understanding, and confirms them as outsiders, to whom the insiders appear to be mad. Thus, when the Corinthians speak in tongues (v.23), the story of God approaching his people in foreign tongues is being repeated: disbelief and outsiderhood are confirmed rather than overcome. Speaking in tongues serves no purpose of understanding when it is met by people outside the faith.

What does it mean, then, that glossolaly is a sign to the unbelievers? Since σημεῖον has an ambiguous meaning, this has to be deduced from the example in v.23 according to which the outsiders remain without understanding. Glossolaly is thus a sign of judgement or outsiderhood to them. According to the deliberative aim of the context, however, it is a saying about the non-believers,

<sup>(21)</sup> References in W.A. GRUDEM, *The Gift of Prophecy in 1 Corinthians* (Lanham, MD 1982) 192.



but *with a view to the Corinthians*, that they should adjust their practice according to this. V.22b is not a conclusion reached on the basis of the quotation. It should be seen as an anticipated conclusion reached on the basis of the illustration in vv.24-25. This gives the following line of thought:



V. 22b, to which we now turn, is rather obscure<sup>(22)</sup>. I think that v.22b is not a “*Nebengedanke*”, but rather provides a key to an adequate reading of the text. The obscurity of v.22 may clear up in the light of vv.24-25. Paul here speaks of prophecy in terms of revealing hidden thoughts. That the secrets of the heart of the outsider are revealed probably means that a prophet addressed the unbeliever personally or indirectly. This may have happened as a sort of laying his or her life open in front of the community, or so that the outsider felt himself to be directly addressed in a way that was not necessarily public. The prophet proleptically brings the outsider before the judgement of God, and thus provides an opportunity for repentance (1 Cor 4,5; cfr. Rom 2,16).

According to Paul this may lead to conversion of the outsider. He takes his language of worship from the OT (Isa 45,14; Zech 8,23). Both texts in their OT setting refer to Gentiles joining the confession of Israel<sup>(23)</sup>. Paul takes for granted that outsiders attended Christian gatherings, and thus gave these meetings a

<sup>(22)</sup> J. WEISS, *Der erste Korintherbrief* (MeyerK 5; Göttingen 1910) 333, says the following: “Überhaupt ist die zweite Hälfte von v.22 ein Nebengedanke, der eigentlich nicht zur Klarheit dient”. Similarly W. REBELL, “Gemeinde als Missionsfaktor im Urchristentum”, *TZ* 44 (1988) 116-134; “Wenn ich mich dennoch zu der Spannung zwischen v.22 und v.23-25 äussern müsste, würde ich ganz einfach empfehlen, die Worte des Paulus in v.22 nicht auf die Goldwaage zu legen” (127).

<sup>(23)</sup> Falling down was seen as an attitude of worship (Luke 5,12; Rev 7,11; 11,16).

missionary dimension. This is not a denial that prophecy is designed to comfort and build up the church members, as is clearly stated in 1 Cor 14,3.26. The superior use of prophecy Paul considers, however, to be demonstrated in its ability to bring outsiders to true worship. Probably he has in mind family members, kin, friends, and neighbours who were paying the Christian house a visit.

The two illustrations found in v.23 and vv.24-25 concern how speaking in tongues and prophecy respectively affect *the outsider*. The illustrations or examples are thus logically consistent. But what about v.22b, saying that prophecy is for believers? The question may be formulated in the following way: What is the sign character of prophecy for the believers in the light of vv.24-25? The perspective of the believers falls outside the example of vv.24-25. This should come as no surprise, since Paul is arguing from the consequence of the spiritual gifts upon the outsiders *with a constant view to convincing and persuading the believers about which gift to give priority to*.

Paul's aim is not to present the two gifts as such, but to teach his converts about the two gifts from the perspective of their possible effect upon the unbelievers. This is what I think v.22b is referring to. It falls outside the examples because it represents the main perspective on both of them. This brings v.22b in line with the rhetorical strategy we have perceived in this chapter. Paul is not saying that prophecy has no bearing upon the outsiders. That would contradict his following example (vv.24-25) in an intolerable way. When Paul says that prophecy is not for the unbelievers, he therefore has something else in mind.

The effect of prophecy upon the outsiders Paul uses as a means of persuading *the believers* to give heed to prophetic speaking. The impact of prophecy on the outsiders makes it evident to the believers that God wants them to take this into account in their spiritually-endowed life. This is not a relevant issue for the outsiders. The structure of v.22 as forming two opposite statements may easily lead to a neglect of this overarching rhetorical strategy. The confession of the unbeliever caused by a Christian prophet laying the outsider's life open and thus preparing him to repent is a sign for the Christians; it is sure evidence that God wants them to prophesy rather than speak in tongues<sup>(24)</sup>. After considering what prophecy

<sup>(24)</sup> FEE, *Corinthians*, 682-683, has a similar interpretation of v.22b, but he tends to isolate it from the rhetorical perspective of the context.

does to the unbelievers, the Corinthians should give their consent to Paul's axiom: It is better to prophesy than to speak in tongues. In other words, the deliberative aim we identified in this chapter has within this particular text its clearest expression in v. 22b.

Paul's argument in 1 Cor 14,20-25 is somewhat enigmatic. This is due primarily to the role of the believer in the text or, in other words, the relationship between v.22b and vv.24-25. This article suggests that a solution should take as its starting point that Paul's aim lies entirely with the Corinthians themselves. His aim is to persuade them to practice prophecy rather than speaking in tongues. The rhetorical topos of common advantage substantiated this. Paul makes a limited use of Isa 28,11, emphasising that when God addressed His people in foreign tongues their lack of understanding remained and was confirmed; they were not able to understand God's message. Similarly, tongue-speaking is to outsiders a sign that confirms their status as outsiders and their misunderstanding of the Christian preaching. The puzzling v.22b falls, in a way, outside the examples of vv.23-25 because it reflects Paul's aim in this text. By arguing from prophecy as bringing a greater good than speaking in tongues, he hopes to persuade his converts to increase their use of prophecy. Prophecy is simply more effective in conveying salvation to the visitors. This is Paul's final reason for saying that prophecy is greater than speaking in tongues.

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He argues that Paul's concern lies with the question of what gifts are signs of God's presence among the Corinthians. Paul hardly meant that his Corinthian converts needed the outsiders to confirm that God was present in the congregation.

## **The Role of Huldah's Prophecy in the Chronicler's Portrayal of Josiah's Reform \***

### **I. The Variant Sequences of Josiah's Reform and Huldah's Prophecy**

Among the many issues relating to Josiah's reign in general and his reform activities in particular, the question of the chronological framework of the reform occupies a notable place within scholarly research and debate<sup>(1)</sup>. The attention which this question has attracted is only to be expected in view of the fact that the sequence of the reform within Josiah's reign represents perhaps the most outstanding difference between the account in 2 Kings 22–23 and the parallel account in 2 Chronicles 34–35. Whereas the Kings account portrays the reform entirely as an outcome of the discovery of the law book in Josiah's eighteenth year, the Chronicles version describes a step-by-step process beginning in Josiah's eighth year and reaching its full momentum in his twelfth year, i.e., six years before the discovery of the law book. Scholarly opinions upholding the historical authenticity of one sequence or the other have concentrated either on the inherent historical likelihood of the respective accounts, especially when bringing extra-biblical data to bear, or on the weight to be accorded to the variant tendentious biases of the Deuteronomistic Historian or the Chronicler. The claims most often brought in favor of the sequence in Chronicles are as follows: (1) The description of early reform activities by Josiah faithfully reflects the political fortunes of Judah, namely the decline of the Assyrian empire, which allowed Josiah to expand his kingdom

\* In loving memory of my esteemed father, Rabbi Melvin Jay Glatt, a spiritual leader for Jews and Christians alike.

<sup>(1)</sup> The question is discussed by nearly all commentators, e.g., E. L. CURTIS – A. A. MADSEN, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Books of Chronicles* (ICC 27; Edinburgh 1910) 502-503; W. RUDOLPH, *Chronikbücher* (HAT 21; Tübingen 1955) 319-321; H.G.M. WILLIAMSON, *1 and 2 Chronicles* (NCB; Grand Rapids – London 1982) 397-398. See also the references in the following note.

into Samaria<sup>(2)</sup>. (2) The very fact that the temple was undergoing repairs when the law book was discovered there in Josiah's eighteenth year indicates that the reform process had been underway previously<sup>(3)</sup>. (3) The sequence in Kings is patently tendentious, since it aims to attribute the impetus for Josiah's reform solely to the discovery of the law book<sup>(4)</sup>. (4) Finally, the description of a gradual reform process is simply more logical<sup>(5)</sup>.

The counterclaims, which favor the version in Kings, stress the particularly tendentious nature of the Chronicler's presentation. These arguments can be enumerated as follows: (1) It is precisely the Chronicler who gives a tendentious picture by implying that the discovery of the law book was merely incidental to Josiah's reform. This portrayal suits the Chronicler's unhistorical stance that the full Torah had been operative throughout Israel's history<sup>(6)</sup>. (2) Another tendentious feature of the Chronicler's portrayal is the tendency to predate royal activities relating to the maintenance of the cult<sup>(7)</sup>.

(2) See T. OESTREICHER, *Das deuteronomische Grundgesetz* (BFCT 27/4; 1923); F.M. CROSS – D.N. FREEDMAN, "Josiah's Revolt against Assyria", *JNES* 12 (1953) 56-58; M. WEINFELD, *From Joshua to Josiah: Turning Points in the History of Israel from the Conquest of the Land until the Fall of Judah* (Hebrew) (Jerusalem 1992) 167.

(3) See H.H. ROWLEY, "The Prophet Jeremiah and the Book of Deuteronomy", *Studies in Old Testament Prophecy Presented to Theodore H. Robinson* (ed. H.H. ROWLEY) (Edinburgh 1950) 164; S.L. MCKENZIE, *The Chronicler's Use of the Deuteronomistic History* (HSM 33; Atlanta 1985) 169; R.B. DILLARD, *2 Chronicles* (WBC 15; Waco, TX 1987) 277; WEINFELD, *From Joshua to Josiah*, 170. Contra H.L. GINSBERG, *The Israelian Heritage of Judaism* (Texts and Studies of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America 24; New York 1982) 41.

(4) See DILLARD, *2 Chronicles*, 277.

(5) See J. MYERS, *II Chronicles* (AB 13; Garden City, NY 1965) 205; F. MICHAELI, *Les livres des Chroniques, d'Esdras et de Néhémie* (CAT; Neuchâtel 1967) 241; J. BRIGHT, *A History of Israel* (revised ed.; London 1972) 317 (although Bright's supposition of a direct link between the reform movement and the ever increasing independence of Judah from Assyria is highly questionable; see most recently M. COGAN, "Judah under Assyrian Hegemony: A Re-examination of Imperialism and Religion", *JBL* 112 [1993] 403-414, esp. 412).

(6) See J. WELLHAUSEN, *Prolegomena to the History of Israel* (translated by J. Sutherland Black and A. Menzies) (Edinburgh 1885) 202-203; H. SPIECKERMANN, *Juda unter Assur in der Sargonidzeit* (FRLANT 129; Göttingen 1982) 37-38.

(7) See especially M. COGAN, "The Chronicler's Use of Chronology as

(3) Finally, the tendency of the Chronicler to exaggerate the geographical area which was affected by the reform casts doubt on his chronological reliability as well<sup>(8)</sup>.

Along with all of the above geo-political and historiosophic considerations, a comparatively marginal issue has also entered into the debate, namely the significance of the temporal framework of Huldah's prophecy, an oracle which envisions doom for Judah but personal reprieve for Josiah<sup>(9)</sup>. Both the Kings and Chronicles accounts report Huldah's prophecy as a response to Josiah's distress following the discovery of the law book in his eighteenth year (2 Kgs 22,15-20 // 2 Chr 34,23-28). However, only in Kings are Huldah's ominous words set in the pre-reform context, since according to the

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Illuminated by Neo-Assyrian Royal Inscriptions", *Empirical Models for Biblical Criticism* (ed. J.H. TIGAY) (Philadelphia 1985) 204. Cf. Williamson's comment (1 and 2 Chronicles, 397) that the Chronicler elsewhere uses early dates for kings' reforms in order to express his approval (e.g., 2 Chr 17,7; 29,3) and furthermore that we have no evidence in our passage that the Chronicler was following an alternative source independent of Kings. On this latter point, see also H.-D. HOFFMANN, *Reform und Reformen: Untersuchungen zu einem Grundthema der deuteronomischen Geschichtsschreibung* (AthANT 66; Zurich 1980) 254-259. For examples of 2 Chr 34,3-7 drawing from 2 Kgs 23, see RUDOLPH, *Chronikbücher*, 319; HOFFMANN, *Reform und Reformen*, 257; S. JAPHET, *I & II Chronicles: A Commentary* (OTL; London 1993) 1023, 1025.

<sup>(8)</sup> See A. MALAMAT, "Josiah's Bid for Armageddon", *JANES* 5 (1973) 271, but contra. J. MILGROM, "Did Josiah Rule Over Megiddo?" (Hebrew), *Bet Mikra* 16 (1970-1971) 26.

<sup>(9)</sup> The term בשלום refers to a peaceful death; see B. HALPERN, "Sacred History and Ideology: Chronicles' Thematic Structure - Indications of an Earlier Source", *The Creation of Sacred Literature: Composition and Redaction of the Biblical Text* (ed. R.E. FRIEDMAN) (University of California Near Eastern Studies 22; Berkeley 1981) 41, n. 8; B. HALPERN - D.S. VANDERHOOF, "The Editions of Kings in the 7th-6th Centuries B.C.E.", *HUCA* 62 (1991) 223; S.L. MCKENZIE, *The Trouble with Kings: The Composition of the Books of Kings in the Deuteronomistic History* (VTS 42; Leiden 1991) 111. The fact that Huldah's prediction for Josiah does not correspond to his eventual fate clearly shows that there is at least an old nucleus in the prophecy, even if the theme of delayed disaster reflects the theology of an exilic editor (so F.M. CROSS, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic: Essays in the History of the Religion of Israel* [Cambridge, MA 1973] 286 and n.46). A precise identification of redactional layers in the passage is not possible; see MCKENZIE, *The Chronicler's Use*, 199. Cf. also N. LOHFINK, "Zur neueren Diskussion über 2 Kön 22-23", *Das Deuteronomium: Entstehung, Gestalt und Botschaft* (ed. N. LOHFINK) (BETL 68; Louvain 1985) n. 87.

Chronicles version, by the time Huldah uttered her message, the essentials of the reform had already been carried out.

Taking note of this disparity, Rudolph claims that this very difference tips the scales in favor of Kings' chronology of the reform, namely that the entire reform was undertaken only in Josiah's eighteenth year<sup>(10)</sup>. Rudolph's reasoning is that Huldah's prophecy could not have completely ignored an earlier reform effort had such an initiative indeed taken place previously<sup>(11)</sup>. Thus, the context of Huldah's prophecy in Kings is completely logical, as opposed to Chronicles, where the burden of the prophecy stands at odds with the steps toward reform supposedly effected six years earlier. Contrariwise, Weinfeld, who comes out in favor of the gradual reform sequence found in Chronicles<sup>(12)</sup>, claims that Huldah's silence regarding Josiah's previous reform activities is both logical and intentional<sup>(13)</sup>. For Huldah's purpose was to accentuate the effects of the southern kingdom's cumulative sin, which Josiah's reform had not erased. Furthermore, according to Weinfeld, the shock which Josiah incurred with the discovery of the law book derived precisely from the fact that the discovery was perceived as a negative omen, which effectively pronounced the just-completed reform as too little too late. Besides, Josiah would not have sent a mission to Huldah at all if he had not already cleaned up the remaining idolatry in Judah.

In my opinion, Weinfeld's arguments relating to Huldah's prophecy are a bit forced. It is simply not necessary to suppose that Josiah had already been engaged in reform activities in order to account for his shock at the discovery of the law book and his subsequent solicitation of Huldah's advice. Nor does it seem reasonable that Huldah would have overlooked a major reform effort on Josiah's part. At the same time, it is conceivable that Huldah's silence regarding Josiah's record stems not from a *complete* lack of reform activity by Josiah before his eighteenth year, but from the limited nature of that activity. In other words, from an historical point of view, it would appear that the Chronicler's view

<sup>(10)</sup> RUDOLPH, *Chronikbücher*, 319.

<sup>(11)</sup> This is also the opinion of J. Tigay as reported by COGAN, "The Chronicler's Use of Chronology", 204, n. 30.

<sup>(12)</sup> WEINFELD, *From Joshua to Josiah*, 166-167.

<sup>(13)</sup> *Ibid.*, 169-170.

of reform activity taking place prior to Josiah's eighteenth year contains some element of truth, though in Chronicles, the extent of that early activity is highly exaggerated<sup>(14)</sup>.

The question that remains, however, is whether Huldah's prophecy created a conflict for the Chronicler from an *historiographic* point of view. For the contents of this prophecy, which is inextricably tied to the finding of the law book in Josiah's eighteenth year, would seem to essentially undermine the Chronicler's own portrayal of a *major* reform effort having occurred already in Josiah's twelfth year. At the same time, the Chronicler's alternatives to retaining Huldah's prophecy in its eighteenth year context were unsatisfactory. On the one hand, since the Chronicler wished to portray Josiah's reform as a reflection of the king's own initiative, independent of the law book, he could not arbitrarily antedate the finding of the law book and Huldah's prophecy, which stemmed from that discovery. On the other hand, to dispense with Huldah's prophecy altogether would run counter to the Chronicler's *historiosophic* principle of continuous prophetic activity in each generation, particularly in Judah<sup>(15)</sup>. Bearing in mind the general significance of prophecy in Chronicles, I believe it can be demonstrated that the Chronicler's retention of Huldah's prophecy precisely in its received sequential position is not merely an unavoidable editorial decision, but rather serves a positive historiographic purpose. Huldah's prophecy as it is situated in Chronicles has the effect of accentuating the overall thematic structure of 2 Chr 34–35, which in turn gives literary expression to the overarching concepts animating the Chronicler's presentation of Josiah's reign.

<sup>(14)</sup> Current scholarship finds problems in accepting the historical validity of either chronological framework (Kings or Chronicles). See R. H. LOWERY, *The Reforming Kings: Cult and Society in First Temple Judah* (JSOTSS 120; Sheffield 1991) 201. Cf. M. COGAN – H. TADMOR, *II Kings: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 11; Garden City, NY 1988) 299. N. Lohfink tentatively suggests that Josiah's dismantling of the foreign cults could very well have preceded the discovery of the law book, but the moves toward centralization of the Yahweh cult were undertaken only after the law book came to light ("The Cult Reform of Josiah of Judah: 2 Kings 22–23 as a Source for the History of Israelite Religion", *Ancient Israelite Religion: Essays in Honor of Frank Moore Cross* [eds. P. D. MILLER, Jr. – P. D. HANSON – S. D. McBRIDE] [Philadelphia 1987] 466–467).

<sup>(15)</sup> See Y. AMIT, "The Role of Prophecy and Prophets in the Book of Chronicles" (Hebrew), *Bet Mikra* 28 (1982–1983) 116.



## II. The "Personal" and "Public" Faces of Josiah's Reform

From a structural point of view, 2 Chr 34–35 can be broken down into nine sub-units as follows:

- 1) 34,1-2 - The formulaic opening of the reign based on 2 Kgs 22,1-2<sup>(16)</sup>.
- 2) 34,3-5 - Josiah's cultic purification of Judah and Jerusalem in his twelfth year.
- 3) 34,6-7 - The extension of this purification campaign to the northern tribes Manasseh, Ephraim, Simeon<sup>(17)</sup>, Naphtali and indeed all of "Eretz Yisrael".
- 4) 34,8-18 - Repair work in the Temple, during which Hilkiah, the high priest, discovers a book of the law. When Shaphan, a trusted court official, comes before Josiah to report on the progress in the Temple project, he also reads the law book to the king.
- 5) 34,19-28 - Upon hearing the words of the law book, Josiah is moved to send a delegation to Huldah the prophetess, who responds with a bittersweet oracle<sup>(18)</sup>.
- 6) 34,29-32 - Josiah initiates a treaty obligating the inhabitants of Judah, Jerusalem and Benjamin<sup>(19)</sup> to follow the stipulations of the law book.

<sup>(16)</sup> Note, however, the omission of the queen mother formula which is found in Kings. MCKENZIE, *The Chronicler's Use*, 175, quotes Macy who explains the phenomenon of the queen mother formula not appearing in Chronicles after Hezekiah as an indication that the Chronicler was drawing from a different source than Kings for the accession formulae after Hezekiah. HALPERN – VANDERHOOF, "The Editions of Kings", 198-199, 236-237, draw more precise conclusions in claiming that the Chronicler was following a specifically Josianic edition of the Deuteronomistic History with regard to the queen mother formula.

<sup>(17)</sup> The inclusion of Simeon with the northern tribes occurs also in 2 Chr 15,9. On this anomaly, cf. H.G.M. WILLIAMSON, *Israel in the Books of Chronicles* (Cambridge 1977) 104, n.2. Alternatively, Naphtali and Simeon may designate the two geographical extremities of the country, Naphtali in the north and Simeon in the south (JAPHET, *I & II Chronicles*, 1024).

<sup>(18)</sup> Note how Josiah is concerned to inquire on behalf of "the remnant of Israel and Judah" (הַנִּשְׁאֵר בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל וּבִיהוּדָה), a phrase reflecting the Chronicler's pan-Israelite interest. However, there are no significant changes in the oracle itself (MCKENZIE, *The Chronicler's Use*, 165-166).

<sup>(19)</sup> Some scholars take the mention of Benjamin in v.32 as a

- 7) 34,33 - A summation verse, unique to Chronicles, which notes how "Josiah removed all the [cultic] abominations from the whole territory of the Israelites and obliged all who were in Israel to worship the Lord their God".
- 8) 35,1-19 - Josiah's celebration of the Passover festival.
- 9) 35,20-27 - Josiah's death in battle against Pharaoh Necho; formulaic closing verses.

The structural division proposed here has Huldah's prophecy situated precisely at the middle point of the Chronicler's Josiah account. This placement is both purposeful and significant in articulating the Chronicler's view of Josiah's reform efforts. Many commentators have noted how the Chronicler's attribution of early reforms to Josiah has the effect of portraying Josiah as one who served Yahweh from a young age<sup>(20)</sup>. Obviously, this is the intention of the emphasis in the text והוא עורכו נער (34,3). At the same time, it seems that all of Josiah's early reform activities are characterized by a uniquely personal coloring, as if Josiah were conducting a private crusade, without giving any attention to rooting his program in the popular consciousness. The purification process in both Judah and Jerusalem (34,3-5) as well as in the other areas of Eretz Yisrael (34,6-7) gives no indication whatsoever of any communal participation nor of any popular support for the reforms. Aside from the unspecified plural subject at the beginning of v. 4 (ויתצו לפניו), it is only Josiah himself who cuts down, smashes, burns and demolishes (this is in keeping with the extended Kings account — see below). At this point, Josiah turns his attention to touching up the focal point of Israelite religious life, namely the Temple in Jerusalem<sup>(21)</sup>. Here, the Chronicler's curious

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corruption of an original בבִּרִית, e.g., RUDOLPH, *Chronikbücher*, 326; WILLIAMSON, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, 403; JAPHET, *I & II Chronicles*, 1037. However, 34,9 also includes Benjamin (cf. DILLARD, *2 Chronicles*, 275).

<sup>(20)</sup> R. MOSIS, *Untersuchungen zur Theologie des chronistischen Geschichtswerkes* (Freiburg-Basel-Wien 1973) 195-196; COGAN, "The Chronicler's Use of Chronology", 204.

<sup>(21)</sup> There is no need for Josiah to purify the temple in the Chronicler's account, since this had already been done by Manasseh. See WILLIAMSON, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, 398; JAPHET, *I & II Chronicles*, 1020. Presumably, the same reasoning would also account for why there is no mention in Chronicles of Josiah removing cults which were specifically Assyrian. See RUDOLPH, *Chronikbücher*, 319.

addition in v. 9b, namely that the monies raised for the Temple restorations were collected from "Manasseh and Ephraim and from all the remnant of Israel and from all of Judah and Benjamin and the inhabitants of Jerusalem", seems to indicate that Josiah's earlier movements throughout the land were accompanied by a successful fund raising campaign<sup>(22)</sup>. Still, the people's involvement in proper religious worship in general and the Temple cult in particular remains relatively passive.

Huldah's prophecy, within the context of the Chronicler's presentation, comes to address this very imbalance. To be sure, Josiah's personal righteousness is praiseworthy, but his reforms to this point have not altered the fundamental religious estrangement of the people at large<sup>(23)</sup>. Josiah's merits are sufficient to save his kingship, but ultimately not his kingdom.

The message is not lost on Josiah. Indeed, Huldah's prophecy represents a turning point, following which Josiah's actions mirror each step of his previous reform agenda, only that now, Josiah redresses the basic flaw in his earlier policy. The section 34,29-32 complements 34,3-5. Once again, the focus is on Judah and Jerusalem (with the addition of Benjamin), but this time, Josiah is at pains to insure the people's obedience: "He obligated all the men of Jerusalem and Benjamin who were present; and the inhabitants of Jerusalem acted in accord with the covenant of God, God of their fathers" (v.32). The closing verse of the chapter, 34,33, functions not merely as a summation, but as a recasting of vv. 6-7, so that the continued loyalty of the people to Yahweh is highlighted<sup>(24)</sup>. The

<sup>(22)</sup> JAPHET, *I & II Chronicles*, 1026. This would certainly be the case according to the *Kere*: וישבו ירושלים.

<sup>(23)</sup> For other expressions of the people's insincerity, see Lamentations Rabbah I:53: "Josiah had sent two disciples [of the Sages] to eradicate idolatry from the people's houses. When they entered the houses they found nothing. As they went out they were told to shut the doors; and when they shut the doors the people inside could see the idol" (*The Midrash*, Vol. VII [translated under the editorship of H. Freedman and M. Simon] [London 1939] 143). Cf. also Lamentations Rabbah, Proem XXII (ibid., 27). Perhaps the insincerity of the populace might also explain Jeremiah's lukewarm attitude toward the reform. For some literature on this subject, see ROWLEY, "The Prophet Jeremiah", 174; J. BRIGHT, *Jeremiah: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 21; Garden City, NY 1965) LXXXIII, XCII; J. BLENKINSOPP, *A History of Prophecy in Israel* (Philadelphia 1983) 161.

<sup>(24)</sup> I thus agree with WILLIAMSON, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, 401, that the

latter theme bestows upon Josiah's reform some semblance of permanence. Finally, the long section on Josiah's Passover (35,1-19) brings the scene back to the Temple. Here, however, the active participation of the people (and priests and Levites) in the Temple service (especially vv.7.13.17-18) stands in contrast to their relatively passive role noted above in connection with the Temple repair work (34,8-18)<sup>(25)</sup>. The public Passover indeed stands as the highlight of Josiah's career, in that he succeeds in attracting not only Judeans and Jerusalemites, but also Israelites to the one legitimate place of worship, the central sanctuary in Jerusalem.

This religious revival comes to a crashing halt with Josiah's premature death at the hands of Egyptian archers<sup>(26)</sup>. Here, as noted by nearly all commentators, the Chronicler was confronted with a serious theological problem, namely how could Josiah have met such a tragic end at the height of his powers. The words put by the Chronicler into the mouth of Pharaoh Necho (35,21) are designed to characterize Josiah's involvement in the Megiddo battle as a rebellion against God, thereby justifying Josiah's untimely demise<sup>(27)</sup>. What emerges for our analysis is that if not for Josiah's

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verse represents the Chronicler's portrayal of Josiah's response to Huldah's prophecy, although I do not share his assertion (*ibid.*, 403) that the verse creates tension with vv.3-7 by placing the same reforms in a later time frame (so also RUDOLPH, *Chronikbücher*, 319-320). My reading of the text suggests that in the aftermath of Huldah's prophecy, Josiah rededicates himself to his earlier efforts with the additional emphasis on national fealty.

<sup>(25)</sup> It is true, as Japhet points out (*I & II Chronicles*, 1046), that the opening phrase of chap. 35, "Josiah kept a Passover to the Lord", puts the focus on Josiah. However, I do not agree with her assertion that this implies a lesser role for the people than in 2 Kgs 23,21 — "And the king commanded all the people, 'Keep the Passover'" — for the simple reason that in Kings, the actual description of the observance of the Passover is not even spelled out.

<sup>(26)</sup> The contrast is further highlighted by the Chronicler's direct juxtaposition of the Passover celebration with the account of Josiah's death (unlike in Kings where the summation verses interrupt the two matters), as noted by C. T. BEGG, "The Death of Josiah in Chronicles: Another View", *VT* 37 (1987) 3-5 and I. KALIMI, "Literary-Chronological Proximity in the Chronicler's Historiography", *VT* 43 (1993) 323-324.

<sup>(27)</sup> MCKENZIE, *The Chronicler's Use*, 184; DILLARD, *2 Chronicles*, 292; S. JAPHET, *The Ideology of the Book of Chronicles and Its Place in Biblical Thought* (translated by Anna Barber) (BEATAJ 9; Frankfurt am Main 1989) 51-52; *idem*, *I & II Chronicles*, 1042. WILLIAMSON, *1 and 2 Chronicles*,

personal backsliding, Huldah's prophecy indeed could have been averted altogether, since both king and people were riding high on a crest of allegiance to Yahweh. However, in the aftermath of Josiah's eleventh hour sin, the Chronicler sees Huldah's prophecy as being essentially reversed. Josiah himself pays for his disobedience with his life, yet the people, who through Josiah's efforts have been drawn closer to proper Yahweh worship, merit a new lease on life. The final destruction is no longer inevitable, but is only to come about as a result of the wickedness of Zedekiah and his generation<sup>(28)</sup>.

### III. The Chronicler's Use of Prophetic Oracles as Historiographic Turning Points

The above analysis has demonstrated that Huldah's prophecy, far from creating an awkward tension within the Chronicler's account of Josiah's reform, serves as the central watershed between the "personal" and "public" aspects of that reform. In this context, it is noteworthy that the utterance of an oracle which is set in the middle of a king's reforms and which serves as a catalyst for further improvements is not without precedent in Chronicles and evidently represents a set literary pattern. The first precedent can be found in the chapters devoted to Asa (2 Chr 14–15). The Chronicler portrays Asa's cultic reforms in a more far-reaching manner, both substantively and geographically, than can be derived from the account in Kings. 1 Kgs 15,12-13 mentions Asa's extirpation of the קדשים<sup>(29)</sup> and the deposing of Maacah, the queen mother, from her cultic role<sup>(30)</sup>. By contrast, 2 Chr 14,2-4 emphatically declares that Asa eliminated the foreign altars, high places, pillars, אשרים<sup>(31)</sup>

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409, contrasts the phrase לא שמוע in v. 32 with the theme of שמוע which was sounded in Huldah's prophecy (34,26-27).

<sup>(28)</sup> This key difference between Kings and Chronicles regarding the explanation for the destruction goes hand in hand with the Chronicler's theology of retribution. See W. RILEY, *King and Cultus in Chronicles: Worship and the Reinterpretation of History* (JSOTSS 160; Sheffield 1993) 144; JAPHET, *I & II Chronicles*, 1069.

<sup>(29)</sup> See M. I. GRUBER, "The *Qādēš* in the Book of Kings and in Other Sources" (Hebrew), *Tarbiz* 52 (1982-1983) 167-176.

<sup>(30)</sup> See S. ACKERMAN, "The Queen Mother and the Cult in Ancient Israel", *JBL* 112 (1993) 385-401. Cf. the more cautious approach of C. R. SEITZ, *Theology in Conflict: Reactions to the Exile in the Book of Jeremiah* (BZAW 176; Berlin – New York 1989) 52-55.

<sup>(31)</sup> Recent bibliography on the Ashera can be found in B. MARGALIT,

and חֲמוּנִים<sup>(32)</sup> while enjoining the people of Judah to seek the Lord, the God of their fathers, and to observe the law and commandments. The scope of Asa's activity is specified as reaching all the cities of Judah. But this is not all, for in 2 Chr 15,8-9, Asa appears to renew his reform efforts by extending the purification campaign to the territories of Benjamin and Ephraim. This latter stage of Asa's reforms culminated with a mass gathering in the Temple for a covenant-renewing ceremony in the third month of Asa's fifteenth year<sup>(33)</sup>.

The description of Asa's reforms in Chronicles raises many interesting questions, not the least of which is how are the two stages of the reforms distinguished from one another. A careful reading shows that the initial stage, which was more localized (Judah only), was carried out on Asa's own initiative (2 Chr 14,1-4). However, the later stage, which was more inclusive and popularly acclaimed<sup>(34)</sup>, was inspired by a prophetic oracle spoken by one Azaryah ben Oded (2 Chr 15,1-7)<sup>(35)</sup>. Structurally speaking, Azaryah's oracle occupies the central place in the Asa chapters, being flanked on either side by three complementary units as follows:

- A) Reform - initial stage (14,1-4)
- B) Asa's military preparations, carried out in a spirit of trust in God (14,5-7)

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"The Meaning and Significance of Ashera", *VT* 40 (1990) 264-297. See also S. OLYAN, *Ashera and the Cult of Yahweh in Israel* (SBLMS 34; Atlanta 1988); M.S. SMITH, *The Early History of God: Yahweh and the Other Deities in Ancient Israel* (San Francisco 1990).

<sup>(32)</sup> For various suggestions on the meaning of חֲמוּנִים, see JAPHET, *I & II Chronicles*, 706. Cf. HOFFMANN, *Reform und Reformen*, 234, n. 72.

<sup>(33)</sup> HOFFMANN, *Reform und Reformen*, 255, n. 5, correctly notes the two-stage structure of Asa's reforms. The point I wish to stress, though, is that the element of wider communal participation is highlighted precisely in the second (post-oracle) stage of Asa's reforms, as is the case with Josiah. For an interesting connection between Asa's covenant-renewing ceremony and the celebration of the Pentecost festival, see M. WEINFELD, "Pentecost as Festival of the Giving of the Law", *Immanuel* 8 (1978) 11.

<sup>(34)</sup> RILEY, *King and Cultus*, 102, observes that the assembly which Asa called at the second stage of his reform attracted people from a number of different tribes (2 Chr 15,9).

<sup>(35)</sup> Riley (*ibid.*) notes how the oracle "neatly summarizes the principles of retribution".

- C) Asa's victory in battle (14,8-14)
- D) Azaryah's oracle (15,1-7)
- A') Reform - second stage (15,8-19)
- B') Asa's military preparations, representing a breach of trust in God, combined with Hanani's oracle of rebuke against Asa which goes unheeded (16,1-11)
- C') Asa's downfall and death (16,12-14).

Thus, Azaryah's oracle, set between the two stages of Asa's reforms, serves as an indispensable catalyst for further and more wide-ranging improvements. Whereas the first stage of the reform focuses on the activities of Asa himself, the second stage, which was undertaken in the wake of Azaryah's oracle, is characterized by widespread participation and a sense of national unity.

The second case of a prophetic oracle which spurs on further royal reform activity is found in connection with Jehoshaphat. The Chronicler's account of Jehoshaphat's reign opens in a manner somewhat reminiscent of the Asa narrative by emphasizing the king's righteousness and briefly describing a religious reform which was undertaken at an early stage in his reign. Specifically, the Chronicler mentions Jehoshaphat's commissioning of an intensive religious educational campaign in his third year<sup>(36)</sup>, in which the Levites and royal officers circulated throughout the cities of Judah teaching the Book of the Law of the Lord (2 Chr 17,7-9). However, unlike Asa who maintained his trust in Yahweh until late in his reign, Jehoshaphat underwent a spiritual backsliding already at the height of his reign by joining forces with the wicked Ahab, king of Israel (2 Chr 18)<sup>(37)</sup>. It is this shift which incurred the wrath of Jehu

<sup>(36)</sup> It is likely that Jehoshaphat served as a co-regent until then, so that his year was actually his first year as sole king. See M. COGAN, s.v. "Chronology: Hebrew Bible", *Anchor Bible Dictionary* (ed. D. N. FREEDMAN) (New York 1992) vol. 1, 1009. B. HALPERN, "A Historiographic Commentary on Ezra 1-6: Achronological Narrative and Dual Chronology in Israelite Historiography", *The Hebrew Bible and its Interpreters* (eds. W. H. PROPP - B. HALPERN - D. N. FREEDMAN) (Winona Lake 1990) 130, suggests that the Chronicler assigned the beginning of Jehoshaphat's reform movement to his third year in order to allow time for the political and religious consolidation described in 2 Chr 17,2.5-6 to unfold.

<sup>(37)</sup> See S. J. DEVRIES, *1 and 2 Chronicles* (FOTL XI; Grand Rapids 1989) 308-309, for an analysis of the contrasts between Asa and Jehoshaphat.

ben Hanani the Seer against Jehoshaphat. Jehu's oracle is stinging in its criticism of Jehoshaphat, but it also leaves the door open for Jehoshaphat to redeem himself by citing his erstwhile good deeds (2 Chr 19,2-3). Indeed, Jehoshaphat took the prophet's words to heart and immediately set out to put his earlier reform on a firmer footing by instituting a permanent royally-sponsored judicial system, complete with a high court of appeals in Jerusalem (2 Chr 19,4-11)<sup>(38)</sup>. Although Jehu's oracle is motivated by criticism of Jehoshaphat, its structural placement within the Jehoshaphat chapters is strikingly similar to that of Azaryah's oracle noted above. Once again, we find the reforms attributed to the king, in this case Jehoshaphat, split into two distinct periods of his reign. The initial reform activities are undertaken early on at the king's own initiative. The later reform activities are described within the context of the king's middle years and are directly linked to the king's response to a prophetic oracle. Furthermore, the later reform activities are both qualitatively superior and geographically farther-reaching than the earlier reform activities. If in the initial stage, Jehoshaphat made do with sending a delegation of officers and Levites to teach the people (2 Chr 17,7-9), in the later stage, he *personally* travels throughout the land, restoring the people to the God of their fathers (2 Chr 19,4b)<sup>(39)</sup>. Whereas the initial-stage reform focused on the cities of Judah (17,9), by the later stage, the scope of Jehoshaphat's efforts included everything "from Beersheba to Mt. Ephraim" (19,4). As Knoppers correctly notes, the activities of Jehoshaphat in 2 Chr 19,4b-11 represent a further development of the policies he had instituted at the beginning of his reign<sup>(40)</sup>.

<sup>(38)</sup> To be sure, there are scholars who view 2 Chr 17,7-9 and 19,4-11 as doublets describing essentially the same reform, e.g., CURTIS – MADSEN, *Chronicles*, 393; W.F. ALBRIGHT, "The Judicial Reform of Jehoshaphat", *Alexander Marx Jubilee Volume* (ed. S. LIEBERMAN) (New York 1950) 82; R. DE VAUX, *Ancient Israel: Its Life and Institutions* (translated by John McHugh) (London 1961) 344; MYERS, *II Chronicles*, xxvii, n. 19. However, there are sufficient reasons to separate the two reforms; see A. WELCH, *The Work of the Chronicler: Its Purpose and its Date* (London 1939) 75, n. 1; S. YEIVIN, "King Jehoshaphat" (Hebrew), *Eretz Israel* 7 (1964) 10, 14; A. DEMSKY, "Literacy in Israel and her Neighbors in the Biblical Period" (Hebrew), unpublished PhD dissertation (Jerusalem: Hebrew University, 1976) 109-110.

<sup>(39)</sup> See G.N. KNOPPERS, "Reform and Regression: The Chronicler's Presentation of Jehoshaphat", *Bib* 72 (1991) 515.

<sup>(40)</sup> Ibid.



Coming back to Josiah, the examples just cited, of oracles in Chronicles which are set at the historiographic midpoint of a king's reign, enable us to view Huldah's prophecy in a new light. For the Chronicler, Huldah's prophecy serves a positive function of redirecting Josiah's reform efforts, rather than merely announcing his personal fate and that of the nation<sup>(41)</sup>. Unfortunately, however, in all three cases (Asa, Jehoshaphat, and Josiah), the religious zeal which was rekindled by the mid-reign prophetic oracles ultimately did not hold up. The reigns of each of these kings in Chronicles end on a sour note, when they sin by engaging in foreign policy adventures which betray a lack of complete devotion to Yahweh. Ironically, each of these kings is rebuked or warned by a Divine message which takes issue with the policy that he has pursued (2 Chr 16,7-9; 20,37; 35,21-22).

#### IV. Summation and Conclusions

We are now in a position to recapitulate the three major conceptual features which characterize the Chronicler's presentation of Josiah's reign and set it apart from the parallel account in Kings. The first and the most striking is the Chronicler's portrayal of Josiah's religious awakening at a very young age, with the bulk of the reforms being dated to the year in which Josiah attained majority age. However, in order to appreciate fully the Chronicler's purpose, it was necessary to account for the seeming tension between the portrayal of an earlier major reform effort on the one hand, and Huldah's prophecy, which betrays no awareness of Josiah's good deeds prior to his hearing the law book, on the other hand. In my estimation, this apparent discrepancy, in fact, highlights a second major conceptual feature of the Chronicler's overall presentation of Josiah, namely the distinction between "personal" and "public" initiative or behavior. Huldah's disregard of Josiah's earlier reforms evidently stemmed from the absence of any "ripple-down" effect that these reforms had on the people at large. The damning words of the prophecy spurred Josiah to take even wider and more comprehensive steps than he had endeavored to do up to that point. In this light, one can account for

(41) It should be noted that a prophetic oracle in the middle of a king's reign can also function as a downward turning point, in the event that the king does not heed the oracle, as in the case of Amaziah (2 Chr 25,15-16).

the Chronicler's shift of emphasis following Huldah's prophecy from an exclusive focus on Josiah's personal execution of the reforms to a greater concern for the popular allegiance that Josiah attempted to foster<sup>(42)</sup>. The latter theme is sounded vividly in the Chronicler's unique "summation verse" (34,33) and reaches a crescendo with the extended description of the Passover ritual which Josiah oversaw at the Jerusalem Temple (especially 35,17). In this respect, the Chronicles account differs markedly from Kings, in which the "personal crusade" phase of the reform *follows* Huldah's prophecy and in which even the Passover celebration is described in terse, standardized terms, without the same degree of active communal participation as in Chronicles<sup>(43)</sup> and indeed without the Temple even being specifically mentioned. In sum, the Chronicler's account of Josiah is unique in that it presents a bipartite face to the reform activities, in which the steps taken by Josiah in his eighteenth year following Huldah's prophecy complement his earlier reform policies by correcting the deficiencies which the earlier policies had left unaddressed. From a literary-thematic point of view, Huldah's prophecy, which appears between the two faces of the reform in Chronicles, serves as a corrective reinforcement, rather than as a fatalistic foreboding as in Kings. In this respect, Huldah's prophecy functions in a similar manner to the oracles of Azaryah ben Oded and Jehu ben Hanani to Asa and Jehoshaphat, respectively. In each case, the prophetic oracle, which is situated at the historiographic midpoint of the king's reign, spurs the king on to some form of improvement of the reforms which he has undertaken to that point. The positive responses of Kings Asa, Jehoshaphat, and Josiah to the respective oracles underscore the Chronicler's belief that each king has the capacity to determine his own fate (and by extension that of his people), much as the lack of faith exhibited by each of these kings at the end of their reigns brought personal punishment upon them.

This leads directly to the third unique conceptual feature of the Chronicler's account, namely the particular approach to the doc-

(42) The Chronicler's concern for portraying a royal initiative as having popular backing is fairly widespread (see JAPHET, *Ideology*, 416-428 with examples), although in our particular case, the need for the king to impose this backing from above is more pronounced.

(43) See above, n. 25.

trine of reward and punishment which he brings to the material. No longer are the fateful sins of Manasseh hanging overhead (2 Kgs 23,26-27 has no place in the Chronicler's theology)<sup>(44)</sup>, but rather each generation, Josiah's included, has it within its power to achieve weal or woe. Within the Chronicler's ideological parameters, Huldah's prophecy cannot be said to have the same resonance of finality as it does in Kings. Thanks to Josiah's "second stage" reform efforts, the slate was wiped clean again for the people, and had Josiah himself not sinned at Megiddo, he too would have been party to the new spiritual opportunity that his refined reform program brought about<sup>(45)</sup>.

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<sup>(44)</sup> See MCKENZIE, *The Chronicler's Use*, 160.

<sup>(45)</sup> I would like to thank Prof. Moshe Greenberg and Prof. P. R. Davies for their helpful comments on an earlier draft of this paper.

## Das Schilfmeerlied Exodus 15 in seinem Kontext

Das Lied, das auf Jahwes Befreiung der Israeliten am Schilfmeer in Ex 15 folgt, gehört zu den oft untersuchten<sup>(1)</sup> Glanzpunkten der Bibel. Auch die Frauenforschung hat unlängst verstärkt den Blick auf diesen Text gelenkt<sup>(2)</sup>. Dazu kommt, im Zuge der gegenwärtigen Pentateuchdiskussion, ein neues Interesse an den die Erzählung 'unterbrechenden' Elementen, etwa den Gesetzen oder, wie hier, dem Lied<sup>(3)</sup>. Umstritten sind u.a. die Untergliederung des Liedes, seine Beziehung mit der Befreiungserzählung und seine Deutung.

Angesichts dieser Lage legt sich eine frische Analyse von Ex 15 nahe. Ich möchte im folgenden zuerst die Organisation des Textes selbst, als Basis (I), dann seine Bezüge mit anderen Texten, insbesondere der Exoduserzählung, (II) und schließlich, zusammenfassend, Funktion und Bedeutung (III) behandeln.

### I. Organisation von Ex 15,1-21

Nach der Petucha am Ende von Ex 14,31 setzt 15,1 neu ein mit verändertem Vokabular<sup>(4)</sup> und anderen Konstellationen: Standen in 14,31 Jahwe und Mose zusammen auf einer Seite, als Bezugspunkte des Glaubens der Israeliten, findet sich Mose in 15,1 auf der Seite

<sup>(1)</sup> Einen anfänglichen Überblick über die Literatur vermögen zu geben: M. L. BRENNER, *The Song of the Sea* (BZAW 195; Berlin – New York 1991) 189-193, und A. CAQUOT, "Cantique de la mer et miracle de la mer", *La protohistoire d'Israël. De l'exode à la monarchie* (Hrsg. E.-M. LAPERROUSAZ) (Paris 1990) 67-85, bes. 67-70.

<sup>(2)</sup> Siehe dazu die Beiträge in Teil 3 von *A Feminist Companion to Exodus to Deuteronomy* (FS. F. van Dijk-Hemmes; [Hrsg. A. BRENNER] Sheffield 1994).

<sup>(3)</sup> Beispiel dafür ist J. W. WATTS, *Psalm and Story. Inset hymns in Hebrew narrative* (JSOTSS 139; Sheffield 1992).

<sup>(4)</sup> C. HOUTMAN, *Exodus vertaald en verklaard*, Deel II (Commentaar op het Oude Testament; Kampen 1989) 223, notiert für Ex 15,1-21 ca. 40 Ausdrücke, die sonst in Ex nicht gebraucht werden. — Zu beachten ist jedoch auch der Anschluß an das Vorige über יָנָה 'damals': Mit dem ersten Wort ist bereits der direkte Bezug auf die Errettung von Ex 14 gegeben.

des Volkes<sup>(5)</sup>. Hatte man nach dem Klagen 14,11f. von den Israeliten kein Wort mehr vernommen, so beginnt in 15,1 ihr Singen geradezu zu strömen<sup>(6)</sup>.

Die nächsten Zeichen masoretischer Textgliederung finden sich nach 15,19.21. Die Petucha am Ende von v. 19 deutet den Abschluß der Einheit 15,1-19 an; v. 20f. sind durch die Setuma vom Folgenden abgehoben und vor allem aufgrund der fast identischen Wiederholung von v. 1b in 21b, die als Rahmung angesehen werden kann, auf das Vorausgehende bezogen. Außerdem belegen die Änderungen in Ort, Zeit und Handlung ab 15,22, daß dort etwas Neues beginnt. — So dürfen zu Recht 15,1 als Anfang und 15,21 als Ende unseres Textes angesehen werden.

Die zusätzliche Unterteilung der Masoreten nach v. 19 machte aufmerksam, daß 15,1-21 in sich gegliedert sind. Das Auftreten Mirjams und der Frauen samt Tanz und Musik in v. 20f. 'doppelt' in einzigartiger Weise das Lob für Jahwes Sieg<sup>(7)</sup> und bildet damit einen eigenen Abschnitt.

Weiters lassen sich abheben poetische (v. 1b-18.21b) und prosaische (v. 1a.19-21a) Teile<sup>(8)</sup>. Diese Aufgliederung erlaubt jedoch keine Abtrennung von v. 19<sup>(9)</sup>; er gehört wesentlich zum Ganzen. Wie der eröffnende Satz von 15,1 zu Beginn das Lied am Ereignis der Errettung (Ex 14) festmacht, so 15,19 am Ende wieder. Die Adressaten werden damit, nach dem langen Lied, an den Stand-

(5) G. JANZEN, "Song of Moses, Song of Miriam: Who is Seconding Whom?", *A Feminist Companion*, 187-199, vor allem 189.

(6) Ex 15,1-18 sind ausgezeichnet als das längste menschliche Sprechen innerhalb des Buches Exodus. — P. ENNS, "A Retelling of the Song at the Sea in Wis 10,20-21", *Bib* 76 (1995) 1-24, speziell 14, hat auf die Opposition hingewiesen, die zwischen 14,14 "und ihr werdet still sein" und Ex 15 besteht, wo Gott den Mund der Stummen öffnet.

(7) Innerhalb der biblischen Erzählungen ist mir kein anderer Text bekannt, der so wie hier v. 20f. nach v. 1 das Preisen Jahwes wiederholt. Entfernt Vergleichbares gibt es bei den Refrains innerhalb der Psalmen, z.B. Ps 57,6.12; 42,6.12 mit 43,5, doch werden dort keine anderen Sprecher genannt.

(8) Für die Erfassung der poetischen Elemente des Liedes ist nach wie vor grundlegend B. JACOB, *The Second Book of the Bible: Exodus* (Hoboken 1992; dieser englischen Übersetzung liegt ein hebräisches Original aus dem Jahr 1945 zugrunde) 414f.

(9) WATTS, *Psalm*, 44f., verweist darauf, daß LXX, hebräische Handschriften und frühe Bibeldrucke v. 19 als zum Lied zugehörig verstanden haben. In ähnlicher Weise sieht JACOB, *Exodus*, 425, unter Hinweis auf Ri 5,

punkt innerhalb der Erzählung erinnert<sup>(10)</sup> und können das Folgende als dessen Fortsetzung aufnehmen.

Innerhalb des eigentlichen, poetischen Liedes v. 1b-18 lassen sich zwei Bereiche unterscheiden: Der Rahmen spricht über Gott in der 3. Person (v. 1-5.18); im Zentrum (v. 6-17) findet sich direkte Anrede an ihn in der 2. Person<sup>(11)</sup>. Somit ergeben sich zwei Nahtstellen (unter der Rücksicht eines Wechsels in der Kommunikationssituation) bei v. 5/6 und 17/18.

Mit der ersten Nahtstelle deckt sich eine weitere Beobachtung: V. 6.11a.16b enthalten steigenden Parallelismus<sup>(12)</sup> und ragen —

wo das Deboralied mit v. 31 einen prosaischen Abschluß hat, auch Ex 15,19 als Teil des Gedichtes; es sei unüblich, mit einem offenen Vers zu enden. — Die scharfe Trennung und Abhebung der Poesie von der Prosa dürfte eher einem neuzeitlichen (Miß-)Verständnis entspringen. Siehe dazu insbesondere J. L. KUGEL, *The Idea of Biblical Poetry. Parallelism and its History* (New Haven 1981) Teil 2 "Poetry and Prose" (59-95).

<sup>(10)</sup> WATTS, *Psalm*, 44, beschreibt die Funktion von v. 19 "...re-establishes the temporal (the time of the Exodus) and physical (the Reed Sea) setting". Das läßt sich auch durch die Stichwortbezüge zu Ex 14 belegen: Während es in 15,12-18 keine signifikanten Wiederholungen von Ausdrücken aus Ex 14 gibt, greift 15,19 mit *סוּם פֶּרַעַה* und *רַכְבּוֹ* + *פֶּרַשׁוֹ* 14,23, mit *יָם* + 'Wasser, Meer' 14,27f. sowie mit "und die Israeliten waren gegangen auf dem Trockenen mitten im Meer" den identischen Satz von 14,29a auf. Die folgenden drei Narrative in 15,20f. setzen die inzwischen 'stehengebliebene' Erzählung fort. — JANZEN, "Song", 190f., sieht in 15,19 wegen des einleitenden *כִּי*, analog zu Gen 20,18, eine Analepsis (Nachholung). Er schließt weiter, daß mit v. 19 auch v. 20f. zeitlich vor v. 1-18 zu stehen kämen. Als Folge dessen hätte Mirjam zuerst das Loblied für Jahwe gesungen (192). Doch ist seine Argumentation aus mehreren Gründen fraglich: Erstens ist in seinem Vergleichsbeispiel Gen 20 nie davor die Rede, daß Gott jeden Mutterschoß verschlossen habe; Ex 15 dagegen greift mehrfach ausdrücklich auf den noch *zuvor* liegenden Text Ex 14 zurück. Zweitens faßt Janzen die Aufgabe von v. 19 zwar richtig als Analepsis auf, dehnt sie aber — über die Petucha am Ende — auch auf v. 20f. aus. Drittens hätte der Erzähler, wäre Mirjam wirklich als erste vor Mose am Singen gewesen, genügend Möglichkeiten gehabt, dies sprachlich auszudrücken; dafür findet sich nicht der geringste Hinweis.

<sup>(11)</sup> CAQUOT, "Cantique", 70.

<sup>(12)</sup> J. J. BURDEN, "A stylistic analysis of Exodus 15:1-21: Theory and practice", *Exodus 1-15: Text and Context* (Hrsg. J. J. BURDEN) (Pretoria 1987) 34-72, bes. 54, zeigt klar die regelmäßige Struktur dieser in allen drei Fällen durch Vokative unterbrochenen 'staircase parallelisms' auf. Zuvor schon hatte U. CASSUTO, *A Commentary on the Book of Exodus* (Jerusalem 1967; hebräisch 1951) 173, in diesen 'wiederholten Wörtern' jeweils das

neben der refrainartigen Inklusion v. 1b.21b — als die intensivsten Wiederholungen aus dem Lied heraus. Von diesen drei Stellen ist v. 11 dadurch betont, daß es fragender Ausruf ist, im Zentrum des Liedes steht und mit קדש ein Stichwort des zweiten Teiles (v. 13.17) einführt.

Vokabular und Bezüge des Liedes rechtfertigen weiter eine Untergliederung in zwei Teile. מרכבת, וחילו, ים, שלישי, כסה und andere Ausdrücke, die die Rettung am Schilfmeer beschreiben, finden sich nur bis v. 10 einschließlich. In 15,12-18 fehlen nennenswerte Anspielungen darauf<sup>(13)</sup>, das Vokabular ist geprägt durch das Wortfeld 'leiten' (v. 12f.), die Furcht der Völker (v. 14-16) und das Thema 'festmachen' (zweimal die Wurzel כן, dazu pflanzen, Erbe, Wohnen, ewig, ... in v. 17f.). Während 15,1-11 mit Ausnahme von v. 6f. in jedem Vers Ausdrücke von Ex 14 aufgreifen [siehe dazu unten II.1], sind solche Bezugnahmen in v. 12-18 abwesend.

Aus diesen Gründen scheint es legitim, das Lied Ex 15,1-18 mit Coats und Watts<sup>(14)</sup> zu untergliedern in die zwei Teile v. 1b-11 und v. 12-18, wobei jeweils der letzte Vers (11 und 18) den Höhepunkt bildet. Innerhalb dieser Teile heben sich ab Aufgesang v. 1b, hymnisches Bekenntnis v. 2f., zwei den Untergang pharaonischer Macht am Wasser besingende Partien (v. 4f.8-10), die ein weiteres, nun aber Gott anredendes Bekenntnis (v. 6f.) rahmen, sowie die bereits im obigen Absatz erwähnten thematisch sich unterscheidenden kleinen Abschnitte v. 12f.14-16.17(f). Während Vokabular und Bezüge die Großgliederung bestimmen, markieren die 'Nahtstellen' (Wechsel

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Ende der drei Teile (plus Epilog in v. 17f.) von Ex 15 gesehen (ähnlich dazwischen auch J. Muilenburg 1966). — Zusätzlich stehen ganz knapp vor diesen drei steigernden Parallelismen 'schwere' Vergleiche: in v. 5.16 "wie Stein", in v. 10 "wie Blei". Die 'leichte', sich in der Wiederholung ausweitende und gleichsam erhebende hebräische Konstruktion des steigernden Parallelismus hebt sich als Gegensatz davon ab.

<sup>(13)</sup> Umstritten ist v. 12. נטה 'ausstrecken' des Armes fand sich in 14,16.21, doch dort für Mose, sodaß das Ausstrecken der Rechten Gottes nicht unbedingt darauf zu beziehen ist. Die Wendung בלע ארץ, noch fünfmal im AT, bezieht sich aber sonst ausschließlich auf den Untergang Korachs und seiner Anhänger (Num 16,32.34 und die Bezüge darauf Num 26,10; Dtn 11,6; Ps 106,17). "Die Erde verschlang sie" darf also nicht ohne weiteres auf den Untergang der Ägypter bezogen werden.

<sup>(14)</sup> G. W. COATS, "The Song of the Sea", *CBQ* 31 (1969) 1-17, bes. 5-8; und WATTS, *Psalms*, 42. — Allerdings läßt Coats die erste Einheit erst mit v. 4 beginnen; v. 2f. sind für ihn hymnische Weiterführung der Einführung v. 1b.

der Kommunikationssituation) und die steigenden Parallelismen die kleineren Abschnitte innerhalb der beiden Hauptteile und erstellen die Übergänge in ihnen.

Somit ergibt sich deutlich ein zweigeteilter Aufbau des Liedes. Während v. 1b-10(f) eher 'zurück', in die Vergangenheit schauen, blicken v. 12-18 vom Standort innerhalb der Exodus-Erzählung gesehen nach 'vorne', in die Zukunft, und lassen sie gezielt, mit präzisen Anspielungen anklingen<sup>(15)</sup>. Diese 'Zweigesichtigkeit' unseres Textes ist wesentlich zu seinem Verständnis. Bereits am Schilfmeer, am Ort des ersten, großen Sieges Jahwes für sein Volk, besingt Israel die weiteren, erst noch folgenden Heilstaten Gottes *als schon erfüllt*<sup>(16)</sup>. Im Ereignis der anfänglichen Rettung kommt grundsätzlich alle Hilfe Gottes für Israel zusammen<sup>(17)</sup>.

Angesichts des komplexen, vielgestaltigen Aufbaus von Ex 15 fällt die Bestimmung seiner Form schwer<sup>(18)</sup>. Der ähnlichste Text ist

Eine sehr ähnliche Struktur wie die hier vorgeschlagene hat R. MEYNET, "Le cantique de Moïse et le cantique de l'Agneau", *Greg* 73 (1992) 19-55, vor allem 23-37 und die Übersichtstafeln 48-54, vorgelegt.

<sup>(15)</sup> Mehrfach wird in der Literatur (COATS, "Song"; F. FORESTI, "Composizione e redazione deuteronomistica in Ex 15,1-18", *Lat* 48 [1982] 41-69, bes. 59-64; BRENNER, *Song*; WATTS, *Psalm*; u.a.) auf die engen, teils exklusiven Verbindungen zwischen einigen Wendungen von Ex 15,12-17 und anderen Texten verwiesen: V. 12 spielt auf Num 16 an (siehe Anm. 13), v. 14 mit שמע, רגל, עמים und der Wurzel חיל auf Dtn 2,25, v. 16 mit 'Furcht fällt auf ...' auf Jos 2,9 und mit עד-עבר auf Jos 4,23; 5,1, v. 17 mit מכן לשבתך auf 1 Kön 8,13. Die hier aufgezählten, teils exklusiven Verbindungen erstellen für Ex 15,12-18 eine Linie, die mit dem Aufstand Korachs beginnt und über den Durchzug durch die umgebenden Völker sowie den Einzug ins Land bis zur Errichtung des Tempels und Jahwes Königsherrschaft führt.

<sup>(16)</sup> So zu Recht WATTS, *Psalm*, 51. Dafür spricht auch der häufige Gebrauch der Präformativkonjugation in v. 12-17 und das *אז* von v. 15. Der Wechsel mit der Afformativkonjugation (ab v. 14; ähnlich auch im ersten Teil) ist eine alte *crux*, dürfte hier aber zutreffender Ausdruck dessen sein, daß Ex 15 beide Aspekte, den vollendeten und den unabgeschlossenen (gegenwärtigen/zukünftigen), verbinden und ineinssehen will. — Siehe dazu auch R. BARTELMUS, *Einführung in das Biblische Hebräisch* (Zürich 1994) 204.

<sup>(17)</sup> Wichtig für diese Deutung ist der Aufweis von COATS, "Song", 10-13 und 17, daß der zweite Teil nicht vom ersten getrennt werden kann.

<sup>(18)</sup> Zuzustimmen ist den Urteilen von J. I. DURHAM, *Exodus* (WBC 3; Waco 1987) 202f.: "The very range of suggestion about the form of this victory poem is an indication of its composite, eclectic nature ... this poem



Ri 5, obwohl es große Unterschiede dazu gibt<sup>(19)</sup>. Weiterführend sind auch die Bemerkungen von C. Meyers zu v. 20, die sie in Ex 15 einen "drum-dance-song" sehen lassen<sup>(20)</sup>, vergleichbar mit Ri 11,34, 1 Sam 18,6 und Jer 31,4. Auch wenn Ex 15 offenbar in dieser Sieglidtradition steht, sind die Verschiedenheiten zu den anderen Stellen groß. Das Lob gilt ausschließlich Jahwe<sup>(21)</sup> und nicht, wie sonst, auch noch menschlichen Helden. In Ex 15 initiieren Männer den Gesang, bei den übrigen Passagen Frauen. Die einmalige Gestalt eines abgewandelten Siegestanzliedes ist der passende Lobpreis des einmaligen, weil unvergleichlichen (v. 11) Gott-Königs.

## II. Literarische Bezüge

Nach der Untersuchung von Gliederung und Form des Textes selbst können wir uns nun stärker seinen Beziehungen zu anderen Texten zuwenden, die teils bereits angeklungen sind. Das Schilfmeerlied steht nicht isoliert, sondern an einem herausgehobenen Ort. Das Ende der Erzählung der Befreiung aus Ägypten ist zugleich Übergang in eine neue Phase der Existenz Israels. Diese Rolle von Ex 15, sowohl abzuschließen als auch zu öffnen, spiegelt sich nicht nur in der oben angesprochenen 'Zweigesichtigkeit', sondern auch in den literarischen Bezügen. Sie bestehen einerseits hin zu Ex 1–14, andererseits zu Texten außerhalb des Buches Exodus, mit denen es über prägnante Ausdrücke verbunden ist.

### 1. Beziehungen mit Exodus 1–14

An erster Stelle sind die Bezüge zum vorausliegenden Text, Ex 13,17–14,31 zu nennen. Wichtigere Verbindungen<sup>(22)</sup> bestehen in:

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cannot be made to fit a single form", und von H. STRAUß, "Das Meerlied des Mose - ein 'Siegeslied' Israels? (Bemerkungen zur theologischen Exegese von Ex 15,1-19.20f)", *ZAW* 97 (1985) 103-109, bes. 106, der darin viele verschiedene Formelemente und Traditionen sieht, dabei aber betont, daß es keine "zufällige Mischform" ist.

<sup>(19)</sup> Siehe A. J. HAUSER, "Two Songs of Victory: a Comparison of Exodus 15 and Judges 5", *Directions in Biblical Hebrew Poetry* (JSOTSS 40) (Hrsg. E. R. FOLLIS) (Sheffield 1987) 265-284, vor allem 279f.

<sup>(20)</sup> C. MEYERS, "Miriam the Musician", *A Feminist Companion*, 207-230, speziell 224.

<sup>(21)</sup> So R. J. BURNS, *Has the Lord indeed spoken only through Moses? A Study of the Biblical Portrait of Miriam* (SBL Dissertation Series 84; Atlanta 1987) 17, und WATTS, *Psalms*, 53.

- 15,1: Mose und die Israeliten, Pferd und sein Reiter<sup>(23)</sup>, Meer  
 v. 2: יִשְׁעָה Hilfe (14,13)  
 v. 3: Wurzel לחם 'kämpfen, Krieg' (14,14.25)  
 v. 4: מְרֻכְבֵּת 'Wagen' (14,25), שְׁלִישִׁים 'Oberste'<sup>(24)</sup> (14,7), Schilfmeer (13, 18)  
 v. 5: bedecken (14,28)  
 v. 8 und 10: רִיחַ 'Wind', und Wasser (14,21)  
 v. 9: אמר 'sagen, denken' [für die Verfolger] (14,3.5)  
 v. 11: Wurzel ירא 'fürchten' und עָשָׂה 'tun' (14,31)  
 v. 12: נָטָה 'ausstrecken' (14,16.21; doch für Mose)  
 v. 19: Pferd, sein Wagen und seine Reiter (14,23), Zurückkehren der Wasser (14,27f.); der letzte Satz ist identisch mit 14,29a.

Neben der schon besprochenen Konzentration der Bezüge im ersten Teil des Liedes fällt mehreres auf. a) Art und Anzahl der Verbindungen knüpfen das Lied von Ex 15 untrennbar mit der Rettung am Schilfmeer in Ex 14 zusammen. b) Trotz des Aufgreifens wichtiger Wörter bzw. Wendungen formuliert das Lied in vielem eigenständig, was durch seinen poetischen Charakter zu erklären ist<sup>(25)</sup>. c) Die Streuung der Bezugnahmen innerhalb von Ex 14 läßt

(22) Für die grundsätzliche Zusammengehörigkeit von Ex 14–15 hat J. L. SKA, *Le passage de la Mer. Étude de la construction, du style et de la symbolique d'Ex 14,1-31* (AnBib 109; Rome 1986) 22–24, bereits eine Reihe von Gründen angeführt. Die hier aufgezählten Wortverbindungen decken sich darüberhinaus auch mit Beobachtungen anderer Autoren und wollen nur zeigen, wie eng und durchgehend die Berührungen zwischen beiden Texten sind; bei Einzelwörtern werden weitere Vorkommen in späteren Versen nicht mehr erwähnt. Mit dieser Liste soll keine Abhängigkeit — in welcher Richtung auch immer — behauptet werden.

(23) Die masoretische Vokalisierung וְרִכְבּוֹ 'und sein Reiter' oder 'und sein Fahrer' (15,1.21) verwendet dieselbe Wurzel רכב 'Wagen' wie in 14,9 (v. 23.26 auch mit Suffix der 3. Person Singular). Entweder kann man darin sehen eine Intensivierung (im Sinne einer Bewegung vom materiellen Ding zur Person) oder aber ein zusammenfassendes Aufgreifen der in Ex 14 jeweils gemeinsam erwähnten "Wagen und Reiter" (v. 9.18.23.26. 28). — Nach C. KLOOS, *Jhwh's combat with the sea. A Canaanite tradition in the religion of ancient Israel* (Amsterdam–Leiden 1986) 128, ist die Wendung "sein Pferd besteigen" (als 'aufsteigen auf den Wagen') ägyptisch bereits für Ramses II. belegt, sodaß selbst für eine Frühdatierung der vokalisierte Text nicht geändert werden müßte.

(24) Zur Übersetzung siehe M. VERVENNE, "Hebrew *šališ* - Ugaritic *šlt*", *UF* 19 (1987) bes. 373.

(25) M. HOWELL, "Exodus 15,1b-18: A Poetic Analysis", *ETL* 65

vermuten, daß dieser Text als Ganzes (und nicht nur in einer Schicht oder einzelnen Schichten) bei der Formulierung von Ex 15 vorgelegen hat<sup>(26)</sup>.

Seltener beachtet wurden die Verbindungen, die zum Beginn des Exodusbuches bestehen. Grundlage der im folgenden angesprochenen Berührungen zwischen Formulierungen aus Ex 1–6 und 15 ist der Erzählbogen, der sich von Ex 1 an spannt und erst mit dem Auszug in Ex 14–15 sein Ende findet. Es ist sinnvoll, bei besonderen Formulierungen zuerst innerhalb dieses nächsten Kontextes nach Entsprechungen zu suchen.

“Der Gott meines Vaters”, einzig hier in 15,2 in poetischer Sprache, korrespondiert als Bekenntnis des Mose der Selbstvorstellung Gottes an ihn in Ex 3,6 (“der Gott deines Vaters”). — Jahwe als ‘Mann des Krieges’, v. 3, läßt die anfängliche Befürchtung Pharaos in 1,10 (“wenn Krieg naht ... und es gegen uns kämpft”) wieder anklingen<sup>(27)</sup>. — Die Proklamation “Jahwe ist sein Name”, auch in v. 3, ruft die beiden Selbstaussagen Gottes von 3,15 und 6,3 wach. — Gleich drei Stichworte aus Gottes Versprechen von 6,6 fallen in 15,12f.16: זרע, גאל, גטה ‘ausstrecken’, ‘auslösen’, ‘Arm’<sup>(28)</sup>.

Wer nach dem Sinn dieser in Ex 15 verwendeten Ausdrücke sucht, wird durch den erzählerischen Zusammenhang zunächst auf die eben genannten Stellen verwiesen. Mit Watts kann man diese Bezüge so verstehen, daß Ex 15 die zwei Themen der Identität Jahwes und des Befreiungsversprechens aus Ex 1–14 aufgreift und ihre Erfüllung feiert.

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(1989) 5–42, bemerkt die beträchtliche Anzahl seltener oder unüblicher Wörter, die fast alle sonst nur in später Poesie vorkommen (15).

<sup>(26)</sup> So schon B. BAENTSCH; *Exodus-Leviticus-Numeri* (Handkommentar zum AT I.2; Göttingen 1903) 128f, und wieder WATTS, *Psalm*, 58. — Freilich sind auch andere diachrone Erklärungen denkbar, vor allem für jene, die Ex 15 sehr früh ansetzen.

<sup>(27)</sup> Auch C. ISBELL, “Exodus 1–2 in the context of Exodus 1–14: Story lines and key words”, *Art and Meaning: Rhetoric in Biblical Literature* (Hrsg. D.J.A. CLINES, u.a.) (JSOTSS 19; Sheffield 1982) 37–61, vor allem 57, verweist auf die enge Beziehung, die zwischen 1,10; 2,3.17 und 14,25.30 über die Wörter שפה, לחם, יסע besteht.

<sup>(28)</sup> Diese Wörter kamen inzwischen nicht für Gott vor; siehe dazu WATTS, *Psalm*, 48, und G. FISCHER, “Keine Priesterschrift in Ex 1–15?”, *ZKT* 117 (1995) 203–211, hier 207 mit Anm. 24. Man darf also in Ex 15 die Einlösung des göttlichen Versprechens von 6,6 sehen.

Das Lied in Ex 15 sagt vielfach aus, wer Jahwe ist, und damit, was sein Name, sein Wesen ist. Es gibt in der ganzen Befreiungserzählung Ex 1–15 keinen anderen Text, der besser Gottes Ansage von 6,7 erfüllt: “und ihr werdet erkennen, daß ich Jahwe, euer Gott, bin, der euch herausführt von unter den Lasten Ägyptens”. Auch wenn das Wort ידע ‘erkennen’ nicht fällt, das preisende Besingen setzt solches Erfassen Gottes in seinem Wesen voraus. Die sonst nicht eingelöste Ankündigung von 6,7 (und 10,2) verlangt nach einer Verwirklichung<sup>(29)</sup>, die in Ex 15 in überreichem Maß gegeben ist.

## 2. Sonstige Verbindungen

Hier wurden schon viele Vorarbeiten geleistet. Besonders sind zu erwähnen F. Foresti, M. L. Brenner und B. Gosse. Ihre Arbeiten sind aufzunehmen und auszuwerten.

Gosse<sup>(30)</sup> legt die Resultate seiner Konkordanzuntersuchung vor und weist darin wichtige Berührungen vor allem mit Psalmen und prophetischer Literatur nach. Erstaunlich sind dabei die vielen und teils exklusiven Verbindungen mit dem Beginn von Deuteronesaja<sup>(31)</sup>. Gosse deutet sie als aus Ex 15 stammend und nimmt für das Schilfmeerlied vorexilische Entstehungszeit an. Er sieht zwar die Kontakte mit den Jahwekönigspsalmen (z.B. in v. 14 durch die sonst nur noch Ps 99,1 begegnende Wendung ירגו עמים), betrachtet aber Ex 15,18 als spätere Zufügung. — Gosses Interpretation leidet daran, daß er oft unkritisch Texte wie Jes 2, Jer 6 u.a. als ‘alt’ ansieht und meist ohne Fragen Abhängigkeiten nur in einer Richtung überlegt. Darauf beruht seine frühe, vorexilische Datierung von Ex 15.

<sup>(29)</sup> Dies gilt umso mehr, als Ex 1–15 geradezu durchdrungen ist von diesem Muster Ankündigung - Erfüllung. Siehe dazu G. FISCHER, “Exodus 1–15 - eine Erzählung”, *Studies in the Book of Exodus* (Hrsg. M. VERVENNE) (BETL 126; Leuven 1996). — Dieser Artikel hier, Publikationsfassung meiner Antrittsvorlesung, ist als ergänzender Abschluß zu jenem Beitrag zu verstehen, der seinerseits den in der vorigen Anmerkung zitierten Artikel fortführt.

<sup>(30)</sup> B. GOSSE, “Le texte d’Exode 15,1-21 dans la rédaction Biblique”, *BZ* 37 (1993) 264-271.

<sup>(31)</sup> וישף v. 10 und Jes 40,24; אדר als Verb v. 6.11 und Jes 42,21; וי v. 13.16 und Jes 42,24; 43,21; Gottes ‘Rechte’ v. 6.12 und Jes 41,10; Jahwe als ‘Krieger’ v. 3 und Jes 42,13 (doch mit *nomen rectum* im Plural; im Singular, wie in Ex 15, auch in Jes 3,2 und viermal in dtrG), u.a.

In eine andere Richtung ist Brenner<sup>(32)</sup> gegangen, der ausführlich die Beziehungen mit den Psalmen (vor allem Ps 48; 78; 106; 118; u.a.) aufzeigt. Für ihn weisen die Verbindungen auf eine nachexilische Entstehung, insbesondere wegen der Anklänge zur chronistischen Literatur. Brenner nimmt in Ex 15,1b-3.18.21b einen Kultstil wahr, der um die Zeit Nehemias in Blüte stand<sup>(33)</sup> und eine Ansetzung von Ex 15 um die Zeit des Mauerbaus, ca. 444 v.Chr., verlangt (S. 177). Zutreffend beobachtet er die Berührungen mit späten Texten. — Doch ist auch bei ihm ein oft zu rasches, nicht hinterfragendes Deuten anzumerken. Die Zuschreibung von Ex 15 an die levitischen Sänger stützt sich auf einige wenige Ähnlichkeiten. Ebenso nimmt Brenner wiederholt leicht an, daß gleiche Formulierung gleichen Ursprung besage<sup>(34)</sup>.

Eine detaillierte Untersuchung von 24 Ausdrücken des Schilfmeerliedes und ihren Verbindungen mit biblischen und altorientalischen Texten hat Foresti<sup>(35)</sup> vorgelegt. Er kommt darin zum Schluß, daß die von ihm analysierten Wörter in die exilische, spätestens die frühe nachexilische Zeit gehören. Elf von ihnen, also fast die Hälfte, weise Parallelen oder sogar Wurzeln in der assyrischen oder babylonischen Sprache auf (S. 50). Dann geht Foresti auf die Beziehungen zu Ps 78 ein; er sieht diesen als von Ex 15 abhängig und tief in der dtr Strömung verwurzelt (S. 60). In dieses Umfeld, vor allem zu Dtn 2 und Jos 2, weisen nach ihm auch die Wendungen von der Furcht der Völker in Ex 15,14-16 sowie, überraschend, zwei Formulierungen aus dem einleitenden Rahmen in v. 1: הַשִּׁירָה הַזֹּאת 'dieses Lied' ist exklusiv dtr, אָ + Präformativkonjugation für punktuelle Vergangenheit überwiegend dtr belegt<sup>(36)</sup>. — Die von Foresti herausgearbeiteten Verbindungen unterstreichen die Nähe von Ex 15 zu dtr

(32) BRENNER, *Song*.

(33) BRENNER, *Song*, 79f. Durch die Bezeichnung Mirjams als 'Prophe-tin' in v. 20 wird für ihn eine Verbindung des Singens von Psalmen (שִׁיר) mit Prophetie (נְבוּאָה) hergestellt; sie findet sich nach ihm nur noch in 1 Chr 25,1-3 und 2 Chr 35,15 [*sic?*] (S. 44f.).

(34) Die Furcht der Völker in 15,14-16 ist nach ihm asafitischer Natur (S. 168). Selbst wenn es Verbindungen zu Asaf-Psalmen gibt, heißt das noch nicht, daß dieselben Autoren beide Texte verfaßt haben — umso weniger, als dieses Thema auch in dtrG begegnet.

(35) FORESTI, "Composizione".

(36) FORESTI, "Composizione", 68. Nächste, fast identische Parallele zu v. 1a ist Num 21,17 (neben v. 12, verbunden mit Num 16, eine weitere enge Berührung mit diesem Buch).

Sprache und Gedankenwelt, und sie belegen diese für das Lied *und* den Rahmen. Vorsicht dürfte nur geboten sein vor seiner zeitlichen Ansetzung (zwischen 580 und 560, mit Einfügung in den Kontext bis 538), die von seiner Auffassung der Entstehung des dtrG abhängt.

Auch andere, oben gemachte Beobachtungen zu Ex 15 weisen in die von Foresti angezeigte Richtung: Die von der Form her am nächsten stehenden Texte (Ri 5; 11; 1 Sam 18) finden sich in dtrG. Ex 15,12-17 spielt mit präzisen Formulierungen auf die großen Etappen der dtr Geschichte Israels bis hin zur Tempelweihe [vgl. oben Anm. 15] an. — Ex 15 ist also durch eine große Nähe zu dtr Theologie und Sprache geprägt. Das soll freilich die anderen, dtr fremden Elemente nicht übersehen lassen; enge Berührungen bestehen ebenso zu Deuterijosaja und zu manchen Psalmen. Auch legt die völlig gleiche Wiederholung des hymnischen Beginns *עֹז יְהוָה זִמְרָתוֹ* "Meine Stärke und mein Lied ist Jah!"<sup>(37)</sup> in Jes 12,2 und Ps 118,14 nahe, neben den Bezügen zur dtr Literatur auch die zu anderen Texten ernst zu nehmen.

<sup>(37)</sup> Zwei grundlegend verschiedene Übersetzungen liegen vor für diesen Ausruf. Die eine, aufgrund des ugaritischen Wortpaares 'z + *dmr*, versteht darunter zwei semantisch ähnliche Ausdrücke, etwa "Stärke und Kraft"; so M. BARRÉ, "'My Strength and My Song' in Exodus 15:2", *CBQ* 54 (1992) 623-637. Er gibt wieder mit "strength and vigor (oder protection)" bzw., als Hendiadys, mit "my guardian deity" (631-634 und 637). Die andere Übersetzung, vertreten vor allem von S. E. LOEWENSTAMM, "The Lord is my Strength and my Glory", idem, *Comparative Studies in Biblical and Ancient Oriental Literatures* (AOAT 204; Kevelaer-Neukirchen-Vluyn 1980) 333-340, betont mehr die dem hebräischen Verb *זמר* zukommende Bedeutung hymnischen Lobes Gottes mit Singen und Spielen (alle 42 Vorkommen nur in diesem Sinn; 336); auch von den acht Belegen dieser Wurzel als Nomen hat nur Gen 43,11 eine andere Bedeutung (im Plural, 'Erzeugnisse'). Angesichts dieses biblischen Befundes dürfte sich letztere Übersetzung, mit 'Lied', mehr empfehlen.

Die irreguläre Form *זמרת* (anstelle von *זמרתִי*) hat alle möglichen Spekulationen, von Emendation über defektive Schreibung, Abkürzung bis 'double-duty suffix' (bei *עֹז*, so HOWELL, "Exodus", 15, unter Berufung auf Muilenburg), geweckt. Sie dürfte jedoch von Klang und Rhythmus her gefordert sein. Sie vermeidet nämlich das Zusammentreffen zweier *Jod* und ergibt eine gleichmäßige Abfolge von betonten (') bzw. unbetonten (-) Silben: -'-'-' (statt -'-'-' mit Suffix). — Eine neuzeitliche Entsprechung für *זמרת* wären apokopierte Formen, in moderner Schreibweise mit Apostroph versehen, z.B. in "Sah ein Knab' ein Röslein stehen", anstelle des erwarteten 'Knabe'.

An diesem Punkt steht eine zeitliche Einordnung unseres Textes an. Fassen wir das bisher Gesehene zusammen: Ex 15 dürfte sich auf Ex 14 als Ganzes (und nicht nur einzelne Schichten darin) sowie auf Ex 3 und 6 beziehen. Es scheint überdies auf wesentliche Etappen der dtr Geschichte anzuspieren. Es verwendet eine Sprache, die einerseits sowohl dtr als auch deuterojesajanischen Formulierungen nahesteht, anderseits typisch ist für späte (nachexilische) Poesie<sup>(38)</sup>. — Darf man aus all dem schließen, daß Ex 15 wohl auch in dieser Phase nach dem Exil entstanden ist? Dabei dürfte die Ansetzung von Foresti in das 6. Jh. noch etwas zu früh, die von M. L. Brenner auf 444 zu punktuell sein. Andere weiterhelfende Gesichtspunkte sind zur Zeit nicht auszumachen<sup>(39)</sup>. Ich neige dazu, Ex 15 als im Zusammenhang mit der Niederschrift der gesamten Befreiungserzählung Ex 1–15 im oder ab dem 5. Jh. entstanden zu sehen.

### III. Funktion und Bedeutung

Die herausragende Rolle des Schilfmeerliedes ist vielfach wahrgenommen worden. Es gilt als 'liturgischer Schluß'<sup>(40)</sup>, theologischer Höhepunkt<sup>(41)</sup>, Zusammenfassung<sup>(42)</sup> der Befreiungserzählung Ex 1–15. Doch läßt sich noch Genaueres sagen angesichts dessen, was sich oben bei Organisation und Bezügen gezeigt hat.

<sup>(38)</sup> Am besten wird das belegt von BURDEN, "Analysis", 60-66. Er weist nach, daß die Sprache nicht archaisch, sondern archaisierend ist, und spricht von "intentional accumulation of certain 'archaistic devices' for creating an atmosphere of antiquity and romance" (66). Ähnlich auch HOWELL, "Exodus", 15, und BRENNER, *Song*, 33-36.

<sup>(39)</sup> Neh 9,11 greift Ex 15 auf; so E. ZENGER, "Tradition und Interpretation in Exodus XV 1-21", *Congress Volume. Vienna 1980* (Hrsg. J. A. EMERTON) (Leiden 1981) 452-483, bes. 458. Das verbietet, Ex 15 allzu spät anzusetzen. — Ps 10,16 steht Ex 15,18 sehr nahe; doch ist dieses Bekenntnis zum König Jahwe nicht an eine bestimmte Zeit gebunden. — Unlängst hat R. J. TOURNAY, "Le chant de victoire d'Exode 15", *RB* 102 (1995) 522-531, Ex 15 auf das Ende des 6. Jh. datiert (S. 531).

<sup>(40)</sup> F. MICHAELI, *Le livre de l'Exode* (Paris 1974) 130: "On ne saurait mieux souligner l'importance de ce texte qui sert de conclusion liturgique à l'ensemble des récits d'Exode 1 à 15".

<sup>(41)</sup> STRAUß, "Meerlied", 108. Er führt das weiter aus: "Der Glaube von Ex 14,31 ist hier inhaltlich ausformuliert".

<sup>(42)</sup> DURHAM, *Exodus*, 210: "...it is a kind of summary of the theological base of the whole of the Book of Exodus".

Daß Mose in 14,31–15,1 von einem Vers zum anderen die Seite wechselt [siehe auch I. mit Anm. 5], ist bedeutungsvoll. Zwar kommt Mose eine entscheidende Rolle in der Herausführung aus Ägypten zu, zwar macht sich Israels Glaube auch fest an ihm, doch in der *Verehrung* steht Gott alleine, und Mose auf der Seite des Volkes im bekennden Lob des einzigartigen, unvergleichlichen Jahwe. Ex 15 sichert Gottes Alleinverehrung.

Ex 14 hatte wiederholt von den Israeliten und Ägypten gesprochen. Innerhalb des eigentlichen Liedes v. 1b-18 fallen diese Ausdrücke nie<sup>(43)</sup>. Zwar bezieht der Rahmen das Lied ausdrücklich auf das Ereignis zuvor, aber das Lied selbst ist ausgesprochen zurückhaltend mit diesen Benennungen. Es geht offensichtlich nicht nur um jenes damalige Geschehen, um einen völkischen Konflikt, sondern um mehr: Die einstige Auseinandersetzung wird im Lied grundlegendes Modell für Gottes Handeln, sie erhält symbolische Bedeutung<sup>(44)</sup>.

Es ist oben mehrfach deutlich geworden, daß Ex 15 erzählerisch, sprachlich und thematisch eng auf Ex 1–14 bezogen ist. Einerseits setzt es diese Befreiungserzählung voraus. Andererseits aber verlangt Ex 1–14 geradezu nach Ex 15 als seiner Erfüllung, was die Erkenntnis Jahwes durch Israel, die Einlösung von Gottes Ansage in 6,6 und eine angemessene Reaktion auf die in Ex 14 geschenkte Be-

<sup>(43)</sup> JACOB, *Exodus*, 414. Nur einmal (v.4) findet sich der Pharao erwähnt.

<sup>(44)</sup> In diesem Sinn sieht ZENGER, "Tradition", 468, das Meerlied als den "Versuch, das Urgeschehen des Anfangs Israel [*sic*] als *auch* in diesem Tempel ... gegenwärtig und wirkmächtig zu besingen". — Von der Leserperspektive her versteht WATTS, *Psalm*, 51, daß im Sieg am Meer auch die 'zukünftigen' (für die Leser aber teils schon vergangenen weiteren) Siege Jahwes inbegriffen sind. Das wirft zusätzliches Licht auf den Wechsel der Tempora in Ex 15 (vgl. Anm. 16). Siehe auch N. LOHFINK, "Das Siegeslied am Schilfmeer", *Das Siegeslied am Schilfmeer*. Christliche Auseinandersetzungen mit dem Alten Testament (Frankfurt 1965) 102-128, bes. 125-128, der wiederholt den typologischen Charakter dieses Textes betont. [Lohfink greift damit auf Vorarbeiten zurück: idem, "De Moysis epinicio (Ex 15,1-18)", *Verbum Domini* 41 (1963) 277-289 = *Studien zum Pentateuch* (SBAB 4; Stuttgart 1988) 79-89]. D.J. MCCARTHY, "Creation Motifs in Ancient Hebrew Poetry", *CBQ* 29 (1967) 393-406 = *Institution and Narrative*. Collected Essays (AnBib 108; Rome 1985) 157-170, kommt zu dem Ergebnis, daß Ex 15 Motive und Material des *Chaoskampfes* verwendet, aber nur noch als Relikte; eigentlich gehe es dem Schilfmeerlied um die soziale Ordnung in Israel und Gottes Retten (406).



freierung<sup>(45)</sup> betrifft. Ex 1–15 ist demnach als zusammengehörig anzusehen<sup>(46)</sup>. Das Schilfmeerlied mit seinem Bekenntnis zum unvergleichlichen Gott ist der geeignete Abschluß der Befreiungserzählung<sup>(47)</sup>.

Berechtigerweise haben die lange vernachlässigten Verse 15,20f. in den letzten Jahren vermehrte Aufmerksamkeit erhalten. Sie lenken den Blick auf Frauen und ihr Handeln. In v. 20 erscheint Mirjam als religiöse Leiterin<sup>(48)</sup>. Was bisher nur Gesang war, wird nun verstärkt durch Instrumente<sup>(49)</sup> und tanzende Bewegung.

Mit v. 21 vergrößert unser Text seine Dynamik noch mehr. Durch ענה 'antworten'<sup>(50)</sup> und den Imperativ שירו "Singt!", der sich (anders als seine Vorlage v. 1b) an einen Plural wendet, wird die ganze Gemeinschaft zusammengeführt und gleichsam in immer stärkeres Loben hineingezogen. Das Hin- und Herwogen des Singens,

<sup>(45)</sup> J. PEDERSEN, *Israel* (II) (Örebro 1947) 405f. Ex 15 ist für Pedersen Text einer liturgischen Feier, die zum Pessach mit Ex 1–14 an die Befreiung erinnert und darauf mit dem Lied antwortet. — Trotz eines anderen Ausgangspunktes und verschiedener Ergebnisse nimmt auch D.J. MCCARTHY, "Plagues and Sea of Reeds: Exodus 5–14", *JBL* 85 (1966) 137–158, besonders 158 = *Institution and Narrative*, 135–156, sowohl für die Verhandlungen Moses mit Pharao (die 'Plagen') als auch für die Ereignisse am Schilfmeer und das Lied gemeinsame Entstehung im Kult an.

<sup>(46)</sup> Siehe FISCHER, "Exodus 1–15".

<sup>(47)</sup> In diesem Punkt unterscheide ich mich ein wenig von WATTS, *Psalm*, der Ex 15 als 'inset hymn' ansieht, "added during or after the combination of all prose sources" [in Ex 14] (59). M. E. (siehe dazu den Aufweis in dem in der Anmerkung 29 zitierten Artikel) ist das Schilfmeerlied zusammen mit der Erzählung entstanden. — Die Bezüge zum Folgenden (ab Ex 15,22, bis zum Sinai einschließlich) bedürften einer eigenen Untersuchung und wären ihrer wert.

<sup>(48)</sup> BURNS, *Has the Lord*, 40. Nach ihr kommt Mirjam eine wesentliche Rolle im kultischen Feiern zu, das auch Tanzen, Singen und Musikbegleitung umfaßt (16–20). Darin liegt ein Hinweis auf religiöse Leiterinnen zur Zeit der Abfassung des Textes (77). — F. VAN DIJK-HEMMES, "Some Recent Views on the Presentation of the Song of Miriam", *A Feminist Companion*, 200–206, sieht in Mirjam die Gründerin einer weiblichen Gesangstradition (205).

<sup>(49)</sup> Grundlegend dazu MEYERS, "Miriam". — Für sie hat die das Tamburin schlagende Mirjam ein Vorbild phönizischen Ursprungs, wo schon in der frühen Eisenzeit solche Terrakottastatuen belegt sind (212–220).

<sup>(50)</sup> WATTS, *Psalm*, 43 weist die Wendung ענה ל- als "technical term for responsive singing" nach.

Tanzens und Spielens von Frauen und Männern<sup>(51)</sup> intensiviert das Preisen Jahwes. Keine andere biblische Stelle enthält eine solche Erzähldynamik, die im Wechsel zwischen den beiden Geschlechtern<sup>(52)</sup> das Lob Gottes verstärkt.

Würden schon die bisher gemachten Beobachtungen ausreichen, im durch Poesie, längstes menschliches Sprechen (in Ex) u.a. herausgehobenen Schilfmeerlied einen ganz wichtigen Text zu sehen, so unterstreichen andere Gründe dies noch weiter. Für die von Gen 1 herkommenden Leser fallen hier zum ersten Mal die Wörter שִׁיר (als Verb)<sup>(53)</sup> und מִחֹל (‘(Reigen-)Tanz’). Im Endtext der Bibel ist Ex 15 das erste Lied und der erste Tanz, passende Feier der neuen Existenz des Volkes als Befreite<sup>(54)</sup>.

Darüberhinaus ist Ex 15 von seiner Stellung her das erste gemeinsame Gebet der Bibel. Zuvor finden wir den Segensspruch Mel-

<sup>(51)</sup> Beide Geschlechter sind auch sonst bei religiösen Feiern bezeugt. CAQUOT, “Cantique”, 73, erwähnt für Ugarit eine “liturgie sociale”, bei der Frauen das Echo zu den Männern machen. — Aus viel späterer Zeit, vielleicht sogar Ex 15 als Modell aufnehmend, sind uns für die ‘Therapeuten’ in Ägypten getrennte Chöre und Wechsel- bzw. Gemeinschaftsgesänge von ihnen bezeugt: Philo, *De vita contemplativa* 83-89 (Berlin 1915; deutsche Übersetzung Berlin 1964). Philo bezieht deren Singen ausdrücklich auf Ex 14-15 zurück.

<sup>(52)</sup> Im Gefolge von Cross und Freedman hat es verschiedentlich Versuche gegeben, das Mirjamlied bei v. 20f als das ältere anzusehen; so z.B. P. TRIBLE, “Bringing Miriam out of the Shadows”, *A Feminist Companion*, 166-186, bes. 171, u.a. Doch haben sich mehrere dem entgegengestellt und darauf hingewiesen, daß es dafür keine Evidenz gibt: COATS, “Song”, 4; WATTS, *Psalm*, 57; A. BACH, “With a Song in her Heart: Listening to Scholars. Listening for Miriam”, *A Feminist Companion*, 243-254. Letztere bemerkt sogar, daß am Ende doch Mirjam “has won the battle of the narrative voice” (244). — Möglicherweise geben auch Verteilung und Reihenfolge der Polel-Partizipien von שִׁיר ‘singen’ einen Hinweis: Auf 33 Belege entfallen 31 auf מְשִׁירִים ‘Sänger’, zwei auf מְשִׁירוֹת ‘Sängerinnen’. Die letzteren beiden Vorkommen stehen zudem nach den ‘Sängern’ (Esra 2,65; Neh 7,67). Das könnte widerspiegeln, daß wenigstens zur damaligen Zeit (alle Vorkommen betreffen Chr, Esra, Neh) im kultischen Gesang eher Männern die dominierende Rolle zukam.

<sup>(53)</sup> Dabei ist dieses Verb durch die drei Vorkommen (v. 1 zweimal, dazu nochmals als Nomen; v. 21) betont. — Das Nomen ist einmal zuvor belegt, in Gen 31,27. Laban gibt vor, er hätte Jakob ‘mit Liedern’ verabschieden wollen; doch sind diese nie gesungen worden.

<sup>(54)</sup> Solches Feiern wird leider, wenig mehr als drei Monate später, pervertiert in seinem Gegenstück Ex 32,18f.

chisedeks in Gen 14,19f., die Bitte des Knechtes Abrahams in Gen 24,12-14 und das Gebet Jakobs vor der entscheidenden Begegnung mit seinem Zwillingsbruder Esau in Gen 32,10-13. Zwar ist Ex 15 mit Gen 14 verbunden durch das Lob Gottes und durch den Kontext<sup>(55)</sup>, es geht aber unter mehreren Rücksichten erheblich weiter als dieses und die beiden anderen Stellen: Von der Beschreibung Gottes, der Ausführlichkeit des Lobes, dem Charakter als Lied und dem gemeinschaftlichen Singen her erscheint das Schilfmeerlied über die anderen Texte herausgehoben. Als erstes gemeinsames Lob Gottes in der Bibel nimmt Ex 15 eine Spitzenstellung ein und zeigt dabei modellhaft einen Glaubensweg von der Befreiung des Volkes über das Heiligtum zum Bekenntnis des nie endenden Königtums Jahwes.

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<sup>(55)</sup> In beiden Fällen handelt es sich um dankende, lobende Antwort auf geschenkte Befreiung.

## Animal Images in the Didactic Rhetoric of the Book of Proverbs

This study focuses upon the various models by which animal images are inserted into the wisdom literary units of the Book of Proverbs and analyzes their setting in its didactic framework<sup>(1)</sup>. Observing animal images within their literary settings reveals an empirical knowledge on the part of the Sage, and points clearly to his rhetorical tendencies and didactic aims.

Flora and fauna of all natural phenomena are two dimensions which come in for close analysis in wisdom circles. A presumed accumulation of empirical observations is revealed in the description of Solomon's wisdom: "He spoke of trees, from the cedar that is in Lebanon to the hyssop that grows out of the wall; he spoke also of beasts and of birds, and of reptiles and of fish" (1 Kgs 5,13). A. Alt suggested that this passage indicates dependence on onomastic wisdom such as the literary tradition of encyclopedic lists produced in Babylonia as well as in Egypt. A new evaluation of this passage suggests that the subjects mentioned correspond to the fable genre or even simply, to animal and plant proverbs<sup>(2)</sup>.

Admiration for the wisdom discerned in nature and for that of beasts, for the sharing of mysterious knowledge inaccessible to human beings, is a topic referred to in the Wisdom poem concerning divine providence:

Now ask the beasts, they will teach you;  
The bird of the sky will tell you;  
or speak to the earth, it will teach you;  
The fish of the sea will tell you. (Job 12,7-8)

<sup>(1)</sup> This article is a revised and enlarged version of a lecture delivered at the International Meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature, Leuven, Belgium, in July 1994. It also represents a small portion of my doctoral dissertation not yet completed. The illustrations are, therefore, limited to the Book of Proverbs.

<sup>(2)</sup> See A. ALT, "Solomonic Wisdom", *Studies in Ancient Israelite Wisdom* (trans. by D.A. Knight) (ed. J.L. CRENSHAW) (New York 1976) 102-112 (originally published as "Die Weisheit Salomos", *TLZ* 76 [1951] 139-144). For a reconsideration of the 'Onomastica' as a wisdom genre, see J. DAY, "Foreign Semitic Influence on the Wisdom of Israel and Its Appropriation in the Book of Proverbs", *Wisdom in ancient Israel. Essays in honour of J. A. Emerton* (ed. J. DAY et al.) (Cambridge 1995) 61-62.

Another facet of this highly esteemed attitude of the Wise Man as regards animal behavior is the reflection upon their enigmatic sense of direction and the way they move about in their various natural habitats. Animals move gracefully in three different dimensions of space: earth, sky and sea, thus sharing an intimate secret with God in His Creation.

In the Numerical Saying (Prov 30,18-19) four examples of man's esteem of nature's wise order are pointed out, two of which are taken from the animal world:

There are three which are beyond my comprehension,  
four which I do not grasp:  
The way of the eagle in the heavens,  
the way of a snake on a rock,  
the way of a ship on the seas,  
and the way of a man with a woman<sup>(3)</sup>.

Wonderment over these phenomena is also found in prophetic contexts, for example the birds' instinctive knowledge for periodic migrating: "Why, the stork in the skies knows her seasons; The dove, the swift, and the thrush observe the time of migration..." (Jer 8,7a). An explicit call to learn and apply wisdom garnered from the beasts and birds is vividly articulated by Elihu's praise of God: "Who teaches us by the beasts of the field, Makes us wise by the birds of the heavens" (Job 35,11)<sup>(4)</sup>.

It is in the didactic nature of wisdom literature and in its search for norms of behavior and principles of social order that the animal world finds its significance; in particular, it provides a frame of reference in the search for a cosmic order which should be imitated by human beings.

J. A. Rimbach categorized animal imagery within the Bible into zoological groups, each with its own characteristics; but only the pattern of *parallelismus membrorum* was taken into consideration in his analysis<sup>(5)</sup>. Until now, no particular attention has been paid to the impact of animal imagery as a figurative pattern within a literary

<sup>(3)</sup> For a detailed comment on the formal aspects of the Numerical Saying and for a lexical and terminological debate see W. MCKANE *Proverbs: A New Approach* (OTL; London 1970) 657-658.

<sup>(4)</sup> For the grammatical debate concerning מלפני, "teaches us", as a preposition instead of a verb see M. H. POPE, *Job* (AB; Garden City, NY 1970) 262-265.

<sup>(5)</sup> See J. A. RIMBACH, *Animal Imagery in the Old Testament: Some*

setting. No literary analysis has been carried out in the quest to understand how a particular image is incorporated into the literary unit<sup>(6)</sup>.

I propose to use the term 'Dynamic Hermeneutics' hereafter, as an expression denoting the modes of adaptation of fauna pictures to didactic aims within rhetorical models. The interaction between animal imagery and literary models as means to achieve didactic aims is considered within various rhetorical types. Throughout the following, examples of human conduct are not attributed to the animals as in the fable but animals are recalled because of some of their characteristics to exemplify desirable models for human conduct. Animal attributes are also set up as a concretizing device in order to approve or negate distinctive manners in man's deportment (see paragraph I.1).

Animal images operate as figurative elements within the instruction genre and have a rhetorical effect upon the explanatory clause of the command or its motivative clause (see paragraph I.2).

The second paragraph deals with peculiar encounters between animals and negative members of society. The various analogies ("better proverb", parallelism, antithetic parallelism and complement parallelism) stimulate the listener/reader to reflect and follow the Sage's value system.

The third paragraph throws light on the non-doctrinal attitude of the Wise while using animal images as metaphorical expressions or simple stereotypes in the context of the Wisdom literature.

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*Aspects of Hebrew Poetics* (Ph.D.Diss., Johns Hopkins University; Baltimore 1972) 1-2.

<sup>(6)</sup> For a discussion of the literary approach to biblical studies and for the hermeneutic principle 'unity of form and content' in particular, see L. ALONSO SCHÖKEL, "Hermeneutical Problems of a Literary Study of the Bible", *Congress Volume Edinburgh 1974* (VTS 28; Leiden 1975) 1-15.

An in-depth survey of the history of study of literature and its impact upon biblical scholarship is presented by M. WEISS, *The Bible from within. The Method of Total Interpretation* (Jerusalem 1984) 36-46. Weiss uses the term "Total Interpretation" (a term coined by Martin Buber) to indicate a methodology of analyzing literary units starting from the single word, through syntactic combination and from there to the largest unit as a whole. Focusing on words, phrases, images, sentences, sequences and literary units makes manifest the relation of the whole unit to its parts, and the parts in relation to the whole.

## I. Animal Imagery as Imitative Models

1. *A simple stereotype illustration: The Ant*

A quasi-empirical attitude is adopted by the Sage in two units in which ants are mentioned (Prov 6,6-8; 30,25). Within an admonition structure, he addresses the sluggard, calling upon him to go to the ant and observe her manners<sup>(7)</sup>:

Go to the ant, O sluggard, Observe her ways and be wise.  
She, having no officer, official and ruler,  
Provides her food in summer, gathers her provision in harvest-time.  
(Prov 6,6-8)

Obtaining wisdom depends upon man's capacity to reflect: "Observe her ways and be wise" (Prov 6,6b). The subordinate clause which follows the imperatives of the instruction provides the reasons for the selection of the ant, thus formulating a peculiar motive clause to the instruction: "She has no officer, official and ruler" (Prov 6,7). Three hierarchical grades of military and civil rank are employed in a contrasting analogy between the human need for social organization and the ant's self-discipline<sup>(8)</sup>. Ants are not bound to any authority and yet manage to conduct an organized and productive life. The industrious insect is described by using descriptive components similar to those of the diligent son: "He who gathers crops in summer is a wise son; He who sleeps through the harvest is a disgraceful son" (Prov 10,5 cf. also 20,4)<sup>(9)</sup>. Both

(7) דרכיה, 'her ways' (Prov 6,6b). The semantic importance of the term 'way' is proved through the frequency and variability of its many synonyms (ארה, גתיב, מעגל, מישרים) describing two contrasting moralistic ways of conducting life such as the ways of wisdom, "her ways are pure and delight" (Prov 2,17) or *vice versa*, "the path of wicked man" (Prov 4,14), which is tortuous (cf. 2,12-15). For the same use of 'way' in Egyptian literature, See B. COUROYER, "Le Chemin de Vie en Égypte et en Israël", *RB* 56 (1949) 412-432. For similar synonymy in Mesopotamian literature as *ḥarrān* // *uruḥ kitti u mišāri*, see M. WEINFELD, *Social Justice in Ancient Israel and Near East* (Jerusalem – Minneapolis 1995) 25-30.

(8) קצין, שוטר, מושל, "officer", "official" and "ruler". Despite the different functions these terms display in different literary sources, here they are used as synonymous of any and all authority. For a early discussion about these terms, see C.H. TOY, *The Book of Proverbs* (ICC; Edinburgh 1899) 123. It seems as if the highly organized life and division of work by wingless female workers, winged queen and winged males, were unknown to the writer.

(9) The antonym מביש "disgraceful" appears also in

the ant and the diligent son gather crops and stock food at harvest-time, emphasizing hidden polemic against the laziness of the dormant son during productive agricultural seasons<sup>(10)</sup>.

It looks as if the Sage consciously ignored the destructive aspect of a potential onslaught of ants upon man's granary, thus creating a rhetorical opportunity to design a ideal model for the diligent son<sup>(11)</sup>.

Another way of focusing the listener's/reader's attention upon the same admired qualities of the ant is by utilizing the 'Numerical Saying' structure<sup>(12)</sup>. To the familiar, sympathetic observation in

Prov 17,2. מביש is better rendered, "who causes shame or disgrace", cf. 19,26 בן מביש ומחפיר and 29,15. For the feminine adjective מבישה as the opposition for אשת חיל, "capable woman", see 12,4. See TOY, *Proverbs*, 200-201; B. GEMSER, *Sprüche Salomonis* (HAT 16; Tübingen 1963) 50. For the translation 'competent' or 'skilled' for 'משכיל' see G. VON RAD, *Weisheit in Israel* (Neukirchen-Vluyn 1970) = *Wisdom in Israel* (Nashville – New York 1972) 20 and also MCKANE, *Proverbs*, 225, 414-415.

<sup>(10)</sup> H. B. TRISTRAM, *The Natural History of the Bible* (London 1867) 319-321 and F. S. BODENHEIMER, *Animal Life in Palestine* (Jerusalem 1950) II, 263 (Hebrew) offer an identification of the ant with the so-called "Messor Semirufus", especially because of its activity throughout the year and adequate climatic and environmental conditions.

<sup>(11)</sup> For an in-depth comment to the passage of the Sluggard and the Ant see MCKANE, *Proverbs*, 323-324. McKane articulates the special conception of the ant in the Book of Proverbs as follows: "In erecting this insect into a paradigm of discipline and prudence, a blind eye is necessarily turned to its destructive effects" (323). The bee, which is known as a malevolent insect within the Bible (cf. Deut 1,44; Ps 118,12; Isa 7,18 and also see the hornet, Exod 23,37), is praised in the addition of LXX Prov 6,8a-c. The bee is fashioned in the same conception; practical wisdom compensates smallness with wisdom. For the debate in regard to the original reading in the *Vorlage* or a late interpolation of the translator, see R. L. GIESE, "Strength through Wisdom and the Bee in LXX-Prov 6,8a-c", *Bib* 73 (1992) 404-411.

<sup>(12)</sup> Alt distinguishes between "normal Israelite Wisdom" as represented by the book of Proverbs and Sirach or even plant fables appearing in the narrative literature (Judg 9,8-15) and numerical sayings, above all in the animal world (Prov 30,15-16.18-20.24-28.29-31) in which "genuine observations of nature are treated throughout from the perspective of the difference of these phenomena from those in the human sphere, and yet at the same time from the perspective of their meaningful order with respect to each other". For his early evaluation of encyclopedic nature wisdom which led to the rise of a new literary *Gattung* of "enumerative science" see A. ALT, "Solomonic Wisdom", 104. Roth defines this pattern as a method of



Prov 6,6-8 a new qualification is added in Prov 30,25 due to the stylistic feature of the 'Numerical Saying' pattern. The opening stich: "There are four of the earth's smallest creatures who are the wisest of the wise" (Prov 30,24) unifies the components of the proverb under a common articulation. Minute creatures, who are at the same time among the wisest, prove that smallness is not necessarily a handicap.

The praise for the ant as part of figurative models in rhetorical patterns, is unique to the book of Proverbs. Extra-biblical material offers three main types of similes: vast numbers, worthlessness and industry but no reference is given to stocking food and saving it for hard times<sup>(13)</sup>. Their industrious nature, which requires responsibil-

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classification and evaluation of natural history, see W.M.W. ROTH, *Numerical Sayings in the Old Testament* (VTS 13; Leiden 1965) 36. See G. VON RAD, *Wisdom in Israel* (London 1972) 35-37. Von Rad finds a relation between the numerical saying and the riddle, both having "the character of a challenging question, for the giving of numbers alone and the silence about what is meant stimulates the listener and keeps his curiosity in suspense" (36). But we should pay attention to the fact that here we have only glimpses of fauna phenomena evaluated under a didactic mirror and not encyclopedic codification.

<sup>(13)</sup> For the three stereotypes of ant habits which appear as the main types of similes in Assyrian Royal Inscriptions, see D. MARCUS, "Animal Similes in Assyrian Royal Inscriptions", *Or* 46 (1977) 86-107. Their industrious nature which is reflected in biblical proverbs is exemplified in Sargon's "Letter to the gods" (TCL 3,24; 143), where the ant's great ability of passing through difficult terrain and opening narrow passages is mentioned. A negative aspect of ants' characteristics is brought forward in a formulaic expression of self-abasement in the Syriac version of the story of Ahiqar. In the twice-repeated expression in the dialogue between Sennacherib, king of Assyria, and the counsellor Ahiqar, Ahiqar denegrates himself—he is like a most disgraced creature, a despised ant. A different aspect of the ant's habits reflects an aggressive and vindictive reaction to anyone who maltreats her. In one of the letters sent by Lab'ayu, the governor of Shechem, he justifies his aggressive behavior to prisoners under his guard: "...moreover, when an ant is struck, does it not fight back and bite the hand of the man that struck it" (EA 252, lines 16-22). For translation and transliteration, see W.F. ALBRIGHT, "An Archaic Hebrew Proverb in an Amarna Letter from Central Palestine", *BASOR* 89 (1943) 30; W.L. MORAN, *The Amarna Letters* (Baltimore-London 1992) 305-306.

ity and well-planned labour, serves as the common paradigm of both constructs within the book of Proverbs.

## 2. *Figurative concretizing of didactic messages*

A more sophisticated technique of 'Dynamic Hermeneutics' may be seen in another animal example, one in which the Sage fashions and designs the motive clause with figurative hints inspired by the final comparative clause.

One of the recurrent societal values condemned by Wisdom literature is the human desire and eagerness to attain wealth and riches. In Prov 23, 4-5, it is expressed most directly:

Do not toil to gain wealth; desist from using your wisdom.  
Will you let your eyes fly after it, and it is gone;  
for it makes itself wings, like an eagle it flies heavenwards. (Prov 23, 4-5)

In order to observe the rhetorical devices employed within this proverb, it is first necessary to isolate the pericope and define its grammatical and syntactical arrangement. The characteristics of the admonition pattern which is exemplified are discernable by the modes of command and/or prohibition<sup>(14)</sup>. Two directive sentences are introduced to the listener, using the Vetitive particle in אל "don't", and the imperative חדל "stop" as prohibitions. The next structural feature in the instruction unit is the directive rhetorical question: (reading with *Qere* for the *Ketib* (התעף) ואתנו, "Will you let your eyes fly after it, then it is gone". The pericope concludes with the motivative clause: כי עשה יעשה לו כנפים "for it makes itself wings". The simple grammatical particle כי serves as a causal conjunction to the introductory command. The motivative clause is expanded by a comparative clause using animal imagery as its model: כנשר יעוף השמים (*Qere* instead of the *Ketib* (ועף), "like an eagle it flies heavenwards".

Reading the instruction paragraph as a whole, we see that it reflects a clear and categorical teaching in which the listener is called to avoid a negative norm of behavior: אל תגז להעשיר "do not toil to gain wealth". But the second prohibition: מבינתך חדל "desist

<sup>(14)</sup> For an extensive analysis and categorisation of the structural devices of wisdom admonitions see, P.J. NEL, *The Structure and Ethos of the Wisdom Admonitions in Proverbs* (BZAW 158; Berlin-New York 1982) 5-6, 18-76.

from using your wisdom”, uses language of cessation. The call for a restriction of human desire to become rich looks as if it were linked with the restriction of employing human reason. This interpretation seems to present a paradox. However, joining the two clauses into one constructed prohibition enables us to understand the new syntactical arrangement as follows: מִבְּנֹתָךְ אֶל תִּגַּע לְהַעֲשִׂיר “Beware of using your reason (or intelligence) as an instrument to become rich”. Despite the logical discrepancies between these two items, it looks as if the Sage intentionally joined them in the proverb, emphasizing his position in this particular case: Refrain from using your wisdom while seeking wealth.

Analysis of the structural elements by which the admonition unit is fashioned uncovers an authoritarian position on the part of the wise teacher, who usually appeals to the inexperienced pupil to use his reason (cf. 1,2; 2,3; 7,4; 8,14; 9,6; 16,16; 23,23). The admonition unit is not only composed of prohibition language, but its explanatory clauses are also designed and decorated with literary devices. The usual translation of the rhetorical question is: התעִיף עֵינֶיךָ בְּרוֹאֵינוֹ “you see it then it is gone”<sup>(15)</sup>.

But this translation misses the poetical effect. The Sage offers a metaphorical play between the verb התעִיף which should be translated: “Will you let your eyes fly after it”, and the simile clause: כְּנֹשָׁר יַעֲרֹף הַשָּׁמַיִם “Like an eagle it flies heavenwards”. The semantic interplay between forms of the root עָרַף (“fly”) animates the verbal clause with a flash of associations linked to the world of birds. Two semantic fields are juxtaposed: fluttering eyes and fluttering wings<sup>(16)</sup>.

<sup>(15)</sup> התעִיף is understood by Rashi as fluttering eyes within the metaphorical expression; עֵינֶיךָ בְּרוֹאֵינוֹ linked to Job 7,7 “your eyes glance at me and I am gone”. The same expression is analogous to days which pass quickly and vanish. For a parallel expression of the vain search for prosperity, embedded in an instruction pattern as well and illustrated by winged animal imagery, cf. *Amenemope* ch. 7, colon 9, line 14 in *ANET*, 422. But *Amenemope* accentuates dishonest gain which vanishes: “...They have made themselves wings like geese and flown away to the heavens”. For a form analysis of the instruction in *Amenemope*, see MCKANE, *Proverbs*, 112.

<sup>(16)</sup> The geminate עָרַף “fluttering” is closely related to the weak verb עָרַף, “fly” and to the secondary formation of the quadriliterals עָפַעַפַּע denominative verb of עָפַעַף, “eyelid” (cf. גָּלַל, גִּלְגַּל). See GKC, p. 182, § 67z.

Summarizing this analysis, we see that animal imagery functions not only as figurative illustration, but uses fauna similes in order to inspire and to animate the whole rhetorical unit, intensifying the literary devices and picturing their didactic messages.

## II. Paradoxical Juxtaposition of Animal Imagery and Social Categories

### 1. *Bear and fool*

This particular dynamic attitude is illustrated in the following proverb: "Rather meet a bereaved she-bear, than a fool in his folly" (Prov 17,12). The phenomenon of a female bear robbed of her cubs was a natural occurrence and it was often employed as a simile linked with emotions of bitterness and despair. The natural implication of this image is a warning of the danger and risk to one who encounters the bear in her distress. Within biblical sources, this expression appears twice, 2 Sam 17,8 and Hos 13,8<sup>(17)</sup>.

In the case before us the Sage succeeds in giving new life to a hackneyed, idiomatic expression by varying its application in content and form. The she-bear robbed of her whelps is usually related to a human referent, but according to the wisdom conception put forward here, the person is defined "a fool in his folly", the prime example of lacking reason and common sense. Revitalization of the old image is also achieved by changing the usual analogous pattern into a variant of the "better than" proverb<sup>(18)</sup>.

The absolute infinitive פגש, "to meet", in the opening stich, and the negative particle אל, "don't", in the complemental distich furnish the verb פגש with a cohortative significance. The elliptical

<sup>(17)</sup> The bear as a menace appears in juxtaposition with a lion in Lam 3,10: "He is a bear lying in wait and as a lion in hiding places", where these animals serve as paradigms of encountering danger without hope of escaping.

<sup>(18)</sup> The *Tov Spruch* or "better proverb" is discussed by VON RAD, *Wisdom in Israel*, 115. See also G.E. BRYCE, "Better-Proverbs: An Historical and Structural Study", *SBLASP* 108 (1972) 343-354; G.S. OGDEN, "The 'Better'-Proverb (Tôb-Spruch), Rhetorical Criticism, and Qoheleth", *JBL* 96 (1977) 489-505.

structure of the verbless clause וְאֵל כְּסִיל בְּאִלְתּוֹ, “and not a fool in his folly”, is completed in a contextual logical relation between the two lines.

The result of this analogous pattern is a replacement of associations usually suggested by this idiomatic expression with associations linked to the semantic field of wisdom literature. The disjunction of a bear and a fool within this peculiar syntax evokes surprise and amazement. Emotions of fear and danger, usually related to the bereaved bear, are substituted by sentiments of mockery and sarcasm. With reference to the “fool in his folly” as the complementary clause, the listener or reader is stimulated to reflect and engage his cognitive and emotional abilities.

## 2. *Lion and sluggard*

Another animal configuration referring to negative elements in human society is found in two direct speech expressions, with slight variations, both of which are related to the sluggard. The first one is composed of two coordinated independent clauses: “The sluggard says, ‘A lion is outside, I shall be slain in the midst of the streets’” (Prov 22,13)<sup>(19)</sup>. And the second one offers a parallelism of two clauses: “The sluggard says, ‘There is a lion (שָׁחַל) outside, a lion (אֲרִי) in the midst of the streets’” (Prov 26,13)<sup>(20)</sup>.

The explicit declaration of being threatened or assaulted by a lion stated by a sluggard evokes incredibility. The listener/reader is conscious of the common perception regarding the lazy fellow who always finds pretenses to avoid effort and exertion, in this case, even pulling lions out of his stock of excuses.

## 3. *Dog and fool*

The fool, as a negative member of human society, is frequently referred to in Wisdom literature. In the following proverb, he is

<sup>(19)</sup> See LXX, which instead of the verbal predicative אֲרִי may have read the substantive רוֹצֵחַ/רוֹצָחִים or even מֵרֵחַ predicate noun (cf. 2 Kgs 6,32; Isa 1,21). The Syriac and Aramaic support LXX.

<sup>(20)</sup> For the frequent use of the synonyms חֹץ, רְחוּבוֹת or חֲזוֹנוֹת/רְחוּבוֹת in Nah 2,5. These verses are linked with the stereotyped behavior of the diligent (cf. Prov 10,4; 12,24; 13,4) and the hyperbolic description of the slouch who is determined to stay at home or, better, in bed (cf. Prov 6,9-10; 19,15; 26-14).



and contempt. Pulling out the most unfavorable characteristic of the most abject animal as simile *vis-à-vis* similitude, confers upon the fool a most humiliated status. Nausea and repugnance are mentally applied to any possible encounter with the fool.

#### 4. *Dog and provoker*

“A man who takes hold of the ears of a dog, a passer-by who gets heated over a quarrel not his own” (Prov 26,17)<sup>(23)</sup>. This bi-cola proverb opens by presenting a picturesque image: a person taking hold of the dog’s ears (LXX reads: “dog’s tail”; 26,17a). The enigmatic picture is resolved within the second cola which functions as an explanatory clause: a passer-by who incites himself over a quarrel not his own (26,17b)<sup>(24)</sup>. Within this peculiar analogous pattern, the simile — a man seizing the ears of the dog — and its adequate similitude — a man who stirs up a fight — are mixed. The encounter between man and animal is described in an unelaborated state, the listener wishing the tale to continue, whereas the predicted result alluded to in the incident described only offers its moral application: one’s superfluous, provocative interference ends up with a severe reaction against the *provocateur*. The figurative topic of a wild dog concretizes the entangled and dangerous situation which the person brought upon himself<sup>(25)</sup>.

(23) The Masoretic accentuation of the text offers *atnach* after כלב (dog), locating עבר (passing) at the beginning of the second cola and designating the adjective ‘passing’ to the man instead of the dog. Transposing the *atnach* after ‘passing’ which then joins it to the dog, emphasizes the unfamiliarity of the dog, as the main descriptive element and thus the man’s efforts to search for any strife.

(24) The reading of the Aramaic translation נצי ומתנצי intensifies by paranomasia the topic of strife by translating עבר as ‘infuriate oneself’ (denominative of עברה = fury). The Syr and Vg read by metathesis מתערב (meddles with). Toy opts for the superfluous adjective עבר (passing) suggesting the metathesis reading מתערב (meddles), as do the ancient versions mentioned above. See TOY, *Proverbs*, 477-478. But the recurrence of מתערב in the book of Proverbs supports the MT version (cf. 14,16; 20,2b and also Deut 3,26; Ps 78,62; 89,39). Furthermore, the frequency of admonitions in Proverbs against being ‘hot tempered’ (cf. 14,29; 15,18; 18,8; 22,8; 26,18) considered as typical behavior of the fool to be condemned (cf. 18,6.7; 20,3), upholds the present MT reading.

(25) Throughout the Bible the dog is usually linked with menace and danger (cf. Ps 22,17.21; 59,7.15; 68,24). An exceptional expression is the

### III. The Non-doctrinal Attitude of the Wise Observer

#### 1. *Birds*

There is a widespread opinion among Old Testament scholars that Wisdom literature does not deal with ideological issues such as the election of Israel by God and the making of the covenant at Sinai. Theological problems such as divine punishment of the enemies are not mentioned. Rather, this genre of literature maintains an anthropocentric view of life focusing upon utilitarian questions in the individual's life<sup>(26)</sup>.

A third aspect of 'Dynamic Hermeneutics' in the use of animal imagery illustrates the "non-doctrinal" outlook of the world of the Sage. The following two wisdom sayings are shaped according to the typology of similarity patterns; the first is built of two lines:

כצפור נודדת מן קנה

כן איש נודד ממקומו

Like a bird which wanders from its nest

is a man who wanders from his place. (Prov 27,8)

and the second uses two comparative clauses related to one similitude, representing a variant of this typology:

כצפור לנד כדרור לעוף

כן קללת חנם לא תבא

As a bird on the wing and a swallow in flight,

so is a groundless curse which does not alight. (Prov 26,2)

In spite of the different topic expressed in the comparative clause, both proverbs illustrate their message using the same figurative pattern: the wandering bird, emphasizing 'wandering' as the main quality of the similitude<sup>(27)</sup>. The first saying forms a simple analogy between the bird's impulse to fly away and mankind's wandering. The absence of moral evaluation of such manner of life is striking. Our two proverbs are unlike the prophetic ideology in which

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construct compound 'flock dogs' (Job 30,1). For the dog represented as domestic animal see Matt 15,27; Tob 11,4.

<sup>(26)</sup> For a survey of wisdom definitions, see J. L. CRENSHAW, "Prolegomenon", *Studies in Ancient Israelite Wisdom* (ed. H. M. ORLINSKY) (New York 1976) 1-5.

<sup>(27)</sup> The verbal forms לנד, לנדד operate in the same field as to move, to wander. For the frequent parallel לנדד:לנד see Gen 4,12.14 and in Hithpolel see Isa 24,20. Cf. 1 Kgs 14,14 as move and wander.



'wandering' is linked with exile, the consequence of a national catastrophe, and is usually interpreted as divine punishment. Jeremiah describes the chaos of war: "...there was no man, and all the birds of heaven fled" (Jer 4,25). The simile of a wandering bird is also a metaphorical expression of exile, of punishing the enemy: "For it shall be, that, as a wandering bird is cast out of the nest, so the daughters of Moab shall be at the fords of Arnon" (Isa 16,2). In the two proverbs cited, political circumstances or even biographical reasons are not mentioned in explaining the necessity to wander.

The two indirect objects: מן קנה, ממקומו "from its nest", "from its place" are the only references to the positive attitude of the Sage to stability. Vagrancy and rootlessness are the common fate of a bird which flies from its nest and a man who wanders.

The juxtaposition between man and animal as simile *vis-à-vis* similitude leaves to the listener/reader the choice of applying reason without being forced to act according to dogmatic or prejudicial conceptions. These sayings use metaphoric language usually associated with theological ideology, but without any reference to such teachings.

The second saying offers two simile clauses: "As a bird on the wing, and a swallow in flight". The application clause: "so is a groundless curse which does not alight" (reading לֹא with the *Ketiv* and not לוֹ as the *Qere*), is taken from the realm of magic and taboo. The *Qere* offers a theological conception of recompense to the owner of an undeserved curse: "so the groundless curse will alight upon him", thus the application of simile *vis-à-vis* similitude remains contradictive, whereas the figurative description of a sparrow on the wing and a swallow in flight can better be compared to a restless curse. It seems as if the Sage wishes to concretize a momentum, in which neither a curse nor a bird are capable of rest. The analogy between bird and curse is not based upon any religious doctrine, and takes as self-evident the idea that a groundless curse can not alight upon an innocent man, just as birds remain in flight and do not return to their nest<sup>(28)</sup>.

(28) The LXX version and the Aramaic Targum support the *Ketiv* reading 'לֹא תבא'. Modern commentaries follow the *Ketiv* reading. For example see F. DELITZSCH, *Proverbs of Solomon* (tr. by M.G. Easton) (Leipzig 1872) 174-175; TOY, *Proverbs*, 472; R.B.Y. SCOTT, *Proverbs/Ecclesiastes* (AB 18; Garden City, NY 1965) 157, 159; MCKANE, *Proverbs*, 251, 559-560.

## 2. Locust

“Locusts have no king, but they march in perfect formation” (Prov 30,27). The locust is mentioned here in a Numerical Saying articulated by a common feature of the four smallest creatures on earth: “There are four of the earth’s smallest creatures who are the wisest of the wise” (Prov 30,24). The first two sub-qualifications consider the ants and the badgers being “a people not strong”, “a people not mighty”. This repetitive statement had to be changed with reference to the locust, for it contradicts the typical description, the locust being “a strong people set in battle array” (Joel 2,5 and cf. 1,6; 2,2.11). In spite of the use of military terminology — וַיֵּצֵא הַצֵּץ כָּלֹּ, “they march all in ranks” (Prov 30,27b and cf. Judg 6,5.7.12; Jer 51,27) — no hint is given of its destructive power<sup>(29)</sup>.

The locust, mentioned as one of the Egyptian plagues (Exod 10,4-20 and cf. Ps 105,34-35), is a menace throughout prophetic literature (cf. Isa 33,4; Jer 46,23.51; Joel 1,4; 2,2-12; Nah 3,15-18) either likened to punishment executed by God himself or by invading enemies.

Multitude and destructiveness are the major aspects of locusts in prophetic and non-biblical sources, while qualities of efficient organization without need for a ruler are expressed within Wisdom literature<sup>(30)</sup>, of which our proverb is a good example.

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Ibn Ezra interchanges the *Ketiv* לֹא תִבָּא to the undeserved person and the *Qere* לֹא תִבָּא to the owner of the curse.

<sup>(29)</sup> Probably הֵצֵץ means to divide into military groups as חֲצָה, cf. Gen 32,8 and Judg 7,16 in which חֲצָה depicts military strategy. For a lexical and semantic connection between the geminate and the verb class *tertiae yod* חֲצָה, הֵצֵץ see GKC §§77d-e and *HALAT*, 329, 330. The LXX version *eutaktos* supports this meaning. McKane also suggests the semantic context of הֵצֵץ as used of military terminology with regard to the locust description in Joel 2,4f. He translated “as a perfect marching”. See MCKANE, *Proverbs*, 662.

<sup>(30)</sup> For a study of the locust in extra-biblical sources see J. A. THOMPSON, “Joel’s Locusts in the light of Near Eastern Parallels”, *JNES* 14 (1955) 52-55. For an up-to-date collection of ancient and modern extra-biblical sources on the locust, see the commentary M. COGAN, *Joel, Mikra Leyisra’el* (eds. M. GREENBERG – S. AHITUV) (Jerusalem 1994) 25-28 (Hebrew).

To summarize the stylistic and thematic aspects of the 'Dynamic Hermeneutics' discussed above, we have seen:

1. The Sage succeeds in renewing idiomatic expressions by changing their frame of reference and form.

2. The Sage employs a metaphoric interplay between the verbal admonition and the animal simile. This rhetorical device intensifies the didactic message.

3. The Sage uses figurative terminology which is familiar to us from prophetic and historiographic literature, but he has freed them of their loaded meaning by inserting them into new contexts, fashioned after wisdom models.

4. Animal imagery play an important part in didactic literature, emphasizing by analogy or by contradiction various types of human character and moral qualities. Empirical knowledge of fauna phenomena and universal truth provide the Sage with figurative illustrations for his argument and add to his authoritative credibility.

Drawing together the main points of the examples discussed above, we suggest that a literary analysis of the models and the setting of animal imagery within these models, enables us to trace the choices and evaluations of fauna phenomena made within wisdom circles.

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**Retroversion to Jesus' *ipsissima verba* and the  
Vocabulary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic:  
the Case of *mata'* and *qarta'* <sup>(1)</sup>**

In a recently published article, Herbert Bassler explains Jesus' perplexing statement "Let the dead bury the dead" (Matt 8,22), by means of retroversion to the presumed original Aramaic. According to Bassler's ingenious reconstruction, Jesus played on the consonantal equivalence of two Aramaic words and said, "Let the city (*mata'*) bury its dead (*meta'*)", but the Greek translators misread the unvocalized text and thus produced the puzzling "Let the dead (*meta'*) bury the dead (*meta'*)". Bassler's argument that *mata'* was part of the vocabulary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic (JPA) of Jesus' time rests upon the evidence found in four sources, two from the rabbinic canon and two from Qumran literature: *Leviticus Rabbah* 24.3, *Exodus Rabbah* 9.7, *Genesis Apocryphon* 2.23, and *Testament of Levi*<sup>(2)</sup>.

The response that follows is concerned with the several methodological issues involved in retroversion to Jesus' *ipsissima verba*. Taking Bassler's argument as an example, I try to show that such attempts at retroversion are methodologically problematic unless the targeted lexical base in Aramaic can be chronologically and dialectally restricted to the language of Jesus' time and place. In the specific instance under discussion, I explore the vocabulary of

<sup>(1)</sup> My thanks are due to Sol Cohen, Michael Sokoloff, Richard Steiner, and Yaakov Sussman for their comments on earlier drafts of this paper. I adopt the chronological division set out by Joseph A. FITZMYER (see *A Wandering Aramean* [Chico, CA 1979] 23, n. 38): Old Aramaic 925 BCE - 700 BCE; Official (Imperial) Aramaic 700 BCE - 200 BCE; Middle Aramaic 200 BCE - 200 CE; Late Aramaic 200 CE - 700 CE; Modern Aramaic 700 CE onward.

<sup>(2)</sup> H. BASSER, "Let the Dead Bury Their Dead", *Approaches to Ancient Judaism: New Series* 5 (ed. H. BASSER - S. FISHBANE) (Atlanta 1993) 79-96. The article was preceded by discussion (June 1992) on "Ioudaios", the electronic discussion group dealing with Judaism of late antiquity. The meaning of *mata'* is actually "town", not "city"; see S. KAUFMAN, *The Akkadian Influences on Aramaic* (Chicago 1974) 71, n. 201.

Aramaic in regard to *mata'* (and the semantically related *qarta'*) and show that the necessary chronological and dialectal criteria are not met<sup>(3)</sup>.

# I. Chronological Disparity (and Other Methodological Problems)

## *Leviticus Rabbah* 24.3

The first difficulty in relying on this source is one of chronology. How can a statement attributed to someone living ca. 300 CE (R. Simon or R. Levi), found in a work redacted in the 5th century, provide evidence of language spoken in the first century? Aside from this problem, there is another: the word for "town", which appears three times in the text, is always a form of *qrt'* in the MSS and in citation in the *'Arukh* and in *Yalqut Makhiri*<sup>(4)</sup>. Basser's evidence rests solely on the second occurrence of the word as found in the printed editions (*mata'*)<sup>(5)</sup>. Although it is not impossible that the printed editions preserve superior readings, it should be noted that many of the manuscripts of *LevR* predate the printed editions by centuries. This is so particularly of MS London, an excellent representative of Palestinian readings and orthography, written before the year 1000<sup>(6)</sup>.

Nevertheless, Basser, on the basis of *lectio difficilior*, accepts the reading *mata'* of the printed editions. He thinks that since "*qarta'* was unquestionably more popular in Palestinian Galilean Aramaic", a scribe "assimilate[d] *mata'* to the other *qarta'*s for uniformity". On the other hand, "assimilation" in the opposite direction is not possible, "since *qarta'* could not explicable move to *mata'* only one of the three times".

The methodology behind this reasoning is problematic. Basser thinks that the version represented by the printed edition (*qarta'*,

<sup>(3)</sup> Other methodological problems in Basser's article, in regard to the use of ancient sources, will be noted along the way.

<sup>(4)</sup> M. MARGULIES, ed., *Midrash Wayyikra Rabbah* (Jerusalem 1960) 553-554; Nathan b. Yehiel's (1035-1110, Rome) *'Arukh*, published by A. KOHUT, *Aruch Completum* (1878-1892; repr. New York 1955), s.v.; Makhir b. Abba Mari's (14th century?, Spain?) *Yalqut Makhiri Psalms*, published by S. BUBER (1899/1990; repr. Jerusalem, 1963) to Ps 20,7.

<sup>(5)</sup> Margulies lists the first two: Constantinople, 1512 and Venice 1545.

<sup>(6)</sup> MARGULIES, Introduction, 5:xxxiv. The midrash itself was compiled, according to Margulies, no later than the mid-5th century, while the essential part of it was already edited at the end of the 4th century.

*mata'*, *qarta'*) was corrected to that found in the manuscripts (*qarta'*, *qarta'*, *qarta'*), rather than vice versa. The assumption being made is that the text of the first and second printed editions, which contain the reading *mata'*, reflects first-century Palestinian Aramaic which used both terms, *mata'*, and *qarta'*, interchangeably. In fact, however, it is far more likely that underlying these 16th-century European printed editions (the only witness for *mata'*) is a European *Vorlage*, which would thus reflect the Aramaic of the Babylonian Talmud with which the European scribes were familiar. In this common scribal phenomenon, Palestinian Aramaic was often leveled to Babylonian Aramaic<sup>(7)</sup>. The case of *mata'* in *LevR* probably reflects this process.

### *Exodus Rabbah* 9.7 (not 9.4)

Basser's second proof of first-century Palestinian Aramaic is from a story in *ExodR* 9.7 in which the word *mata'* appears. When Moses, before Pharaoh and his magicians, turned his staff into a serpent, the magicians said to him: "Are you bringing straw to 'Afarayim?!" (i.e., Are you bringing sorcery to Egypt?! Egypt is the home of sorcery!) Moses replied: "Take your vegetables to the place [*mata'*] of vegetables". (Precisely to the place of magic, where such things can be appreciated, do I bring my magic.)

Although the story is paralleled in the Babylonian Talmud (*Men* 85a), Basser thinks that this work was not the source for the Palestinian *ExodR*, since (a) the incidence of *mata'* in *LevR* does not require us necessarily to see a Babylonian origin for the word, and (b) the story preserves a saying about the Palestinian (Galilean) town of 'Afarayim. Therefore the source was the Palestinian *ExodR*, thus supplying proof of *mata'* in JPA.

Once again the reasoning and methodology are problematic. The reasoning of (a), that *mata'* was used in *ExodR* because it appears in *LevR*, is circular. We do not in fact know that the word appears in *LevR*. That is what Basser tries (and in my opinion, fails) to prove.

Basser's methodology in (b) is unsatisfactory on several grounds. (1) Why assume that a saying about a particular place

<sup>(7)</sup> See now Y. SUSSMAN's remarks in *Mehqarim be-Sifrut ha-Talmudit: Yom 'Iyun le ... Sha'ul Lieberman* (Jerusalem 1983) 16.

cannot be adopted and used away from place? Obviously, in instances such as this, distance must be measured not in geographic, but in cultural, terms. Even if the saying "That's like bringing straw to 'Afarayim" originated in Palestine, it could have been used in Babylonia (with a linguistic change from Western Aramaic *qarta'* to Eastern Aramaic *mata'*). The ties between the Palestinian and Babylonian academies would justify this supposition. Just as in America we adopt the English saying "That's like bringing coals to Newcastle", so too the Amoraim in Babylonia could have adopted the Palestinian equivalent "That's like bringing straw to 'Afarayim". (2) In any case, it seems that the saying about 'Afarayim and the following saying ("Take your vegetables to the place [*mata'*] of vegetables") constitute two separate and distinct sayings. This is clear from the two sources Basser quotes, *GenR* 86.5 (not 86.6) and *Tanḥuma*, ed. Buber, *Va-erah* (not *Va-Yerah*) 12, which, in a different context (Joseph's magic in Egypt), contain only the first saying. In other words, even if " 'Afarayim" were a saying that originated and was used exclusively in Palestine, it would imply nothing about the second (*mata'*) saying. (3) In fact, there are two indications that "Take your vegetables to the place [*mata'*] of vegetables" is a Babylonian saying. First, in *bMen* it is preceded by "people say", [*amri 'enaše*] indicating, as is common in the Babylonian Talmud, a Babylonian expression. Second, the language of the saying, aside from *mata'*, is almost certainly Eastern Aramaic. The verb *šeqal* (*l/bemata' de-yarqa' yarqa' šeqol*) is probably exclusive to Eastern Aramaic (the Western equivalent is *nsb*). The single occurrence of it in M. Sokoloff's *Dictionary* refers to *yBM* 9c where, however, MS Escorial reads *nsb*. Sokoloff notes to the entry *šql*: "Probably corrupt from Babylonian Talmudic Aramaic" (8). See also Y. Kutscher's remark that this verb is possibly to be found only in Eastern Aramaic (9). (4) Lastly, it is surprising that Basser would give priority to *ExodR* (first part), a late 9th-century or later midrash (10) over the

(8) *A Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic of the Byzantine Period* (Ramat Gan 1990) 565, s.v.

(9) "The Language of the 'Genesis Apocryphon'", *Scripta Hierosolymitana* 4 (1957) 14; reprinted in *Hebrew and Aramaic Studies* (ed. Z. BEN-HAYYIM et al.) (Jerusalem 1977) 16.

(10) See A. SHINAN, *Midrash Shemot Rabbah, Chapters I-XIV* (Jerusalem 1984) 23.

Babylonian Talmud. Clearly, the source of this story in *ExodR* was the Talmud<sup>(11)</sup>.

But even if *ExodR* were the source of the *mata'* statement, we may wonder how a 9th-century work can provide evidence of first-century vocabulary. As with the case of *LevR*, but even more so in the case of *ExodR*, we are centuries removed from the time Jesus lived and spoke. These works were, after all, redacted centuries after his time<sup>(12)</sup>. Several scholars have recently made this point about rabbinic writings and they thus turned to Qumran as more closely representing the language of first-century Palestine<sup>(13)</sup>. Bassier's two proofs from Qumran would then seem, on the face of it, to be methodologically more valid, especially in the case of the *Genesis Apocryphon*, which is dated to 100 BCE - 70 CE<sup>(14)</sup>.

#### *Genesis Apocryphon* (1QapGen) 2.23

A line which is very unclear was transcribed by N. Avigad and Y. Yadin as *w'zl Prk mt lprwyn*. In their Hebrew translation, Avigad and Yadin do not translate *mt*, rendering the line with cautionary question marks *whlk Prk mt (?) lprwyn (?)*, and in their English version they do not translate the problematic words at all ("And he went to ...")<sup>(15)</sup>. In his edition of the work, J. Fitzmyer noted several different proposed readings and interpretations, none of which see *mt* = region/land. Fitzmyer himself, however, does read it that way: "He went through the length of the land of Parvaim"<sup>(16)</sup>. While B. Jongeling et al. followed Fitzmyer they noted, "Neither the reading nor the meaning of these words [*Prk mt*] can be

<sup>(11)</sup> So too Shinan, ad loc.

<sup>(12)</sup> The chronological discrepancies between first-century Palestine and the proffered prooftexts surface again when Bassier attempts to show that there was a Jewish law/custom obliging cities to bury their dead. Bassier refers to *bMQ* 27b and *bKet* 17a. However, the proof found in these sources dates to the third and fourth centuries (R. Judah in the name of Rav and R. Hamnuna).

<sup>(13)</sup> See FITZMYER, *A Wandering Aramean*, 8 and notes for sources.

<sup>(14)</sup> J. A. FITZMYER, *The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave 1* (Rome 1971) 15. The scroll itself has been dated between 73 BCE and 14 CE: G. BONANI et al., "Radiocarbon Dating of the Dead Sea Scrolls", *Atiqot* 20 (1991) 30.

<sup>(15)</sup> *A Genesis Apocryphon* (Jerusalem 1956) 40, 34 (Hebrew numbering), transcription column II.

<sup>(16)</sup> *The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave 1*, 94-95.



ascertained" (17). More recently Milik suggested another reading, which does not have *mt* (18). Similarly, Muraoka does not seem to accept Fitzmyer's reading (19). Lastly, Elisha Qimron, who is working on a new edition of the *Genesis Apocryphon*, does not see *mt* in the line. "The reading *l'rk mt* is very doubtful. Only the first and last letters are clear; the other letters are almost impossible to identify. An additional difficulty is the lack of space between the two words (if we read *k* and not *n*)". Because of the combined difficulties of legibility, context, grammar, and identification of the place-name, Qimron does not accept the reading *mt*, and for these reasons he adds, "even if the reading *mt* were certain, I would not translate it as *mata'* = city" (20). In sum, the *Genesis Apocryphon*, which derives from the time of Jesus and thus can theoretically furnish proof of his language, says nothing about *mata'*. The word is not there.

Basser, however, accepts Fitzmyer's reading of *mata'* in the text. But, once again, his reasoning is problematic. As was the case with *ExodR*, here too he accepts *mata'* because the word appears in *LevR*. However, we do not know that the word in fact appears in *LevR*. That is what needs to be proved. Basser's other reason for accepting Fitzmyer's reading is that "nothing else makes sense". S. Kaufman, on the other hand, comments on Fitzmyer's reading: "Aside from [*mt*] being a unique occurrence in Western Aramaic, this reading is difficult to support both orthographically and syntactically" (21).

Similar to the case of the *Genesis Apocryphon* are the readings in two Qumran fragments recently made by K. Beyer (after Basser's article appeared). According to Beyer, 4QAmram<sup>e</sup> (= 4Q457) line 10 reads *wmn m't lm't*, "and from region to region", and 4QEnGiants<sup>b</sup> ii 22 (= 4Q530) reads *mnd'* 'tr' *wm't*, "knowledge of the place and land" (22). However, it seems to me that these

(17) B. JONGELING – C.J. LABUSCHAGNE – A.S. VAN DER WOUDE, *Aramaic Texts from Qumran* (Leiden 1976) 86.

(18) J. T. MILIK – M. BLACK, *The Books of Enoch* (Oxford 1976) 41, n. 1.

(19) See his discussion of the use of *lamed* in "Notes on the Aramaic of the *Genesis Apocryphon*", *RevQ* 8 (1972) 38-39.

(20) Personal communication, July 6, 1992.

(21) *The Akkadian Influences on Aramaic*, 71.

(22) *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer*. Ergänzungsband (Göttingen 1994) 90 R7, line 10; 120 G9, line 22.

readings are not at all certain. The relevant parts of the MSS are not clear, and do not support Beyer's readings<sup>(23)</sup>. In fact, in 4QEnGiants<sup>b</sup> Beyer originally did not read *m't*<sup>2</sup>, nor does Milik, nor F. Garcia Martinez, nor J. C. Reeves<sup>(24)</sup>, and in 4QAmram<sup>e</sup> neither Garcia Martinez nor Eisenman-Wise reads *m't*<sup>(25)</sup>.

### *Testament of Levi*

The Cairo genizah fragment of the *Testament of Levi*, according to the published text, contains the word *m't* three times, two of which occur in the expression *m't( ) wmdynh (mat umedinah)*, "land and country"<sup>(26)</sup>.

<sup>(23)</sup> See the photographs (PAM 43.567 and 568) in the microfiche edition of the Israel Antiquities Authority, *The Dead Sea Scrolls on Microfiche* (ed. E. TOV with the collaboration of S. J. PFANN) (Leiden 1993) fiche 78; or in R. H. EISENMAN – J. M. ROBINSON, *A Facsimile Edition of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Washington 1991) vol. 2, plates 1515 and 1516.

<sup>(24)</sup> J. C. REEVES, *Jewish Lore in Manichaean Cosmogony: Studies in the Book of Giants Traditions* (Cincinnati 1992) 58. See pp. 51-56 for a discussion of the dating of the Book of Giants, which keeps getting earlier. Milik had decided on ca. 125-100 BCE, F. GARCIA MARTINEZ, *Qumran and Apocalyptic* (Leiden 1992) 113-115, had suggested mid-second century BCE, and Reeves now pushes back the date to possibly before 225-175 BCE.

<sup>(25)</sup> K. BEYER, *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer* (Göttingen 1984) 265. J. MILIK, "Turfan et Qumran: Livre des Géants juif et manichéen", *Tradition und Glaube: Festgabe für Karl Georg Kuhn* (ed. G. JEREMIAS et al.) (Göttingen 1971) 117-127, text on 122; J. MILIK, *The Books of Enoch* (Oxford 1976) 305. F. GARCIA MARTINEZ, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated* (Leiden 1994; original Spanish ed. 1992) 261, 274. See also J. A. FITZMYER – D. J. HARRINGTON, *A Manual of Palestinian Aramaic Texts* (Rome 1978) 74. R. H. EISENMAN – M. WISE, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Uncovered* (Shaftesburg UK 1992) 153. E. Qimron agrees that Beyer's reading of *m't* in 4QAmram and 4QEnGiants is not certain (personal correspondence, August 22, 1995). BEYER, *Die aramäischen Texte*, 210, dates 4QAmram to the first half of the 2nd century BCE at the latest. Regarding Beyer's readings, see S. F. Bennett's review of Beyer's first volume (*Maarav* 4/2 [1987] 243-260, esp. 250-256), in which several unsubstantiated readings are called into question.

<sup>(26)</sup> Text: R. H. CHARLES, *The Greek Versions of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* (Oxford 1908) Appendix III, p. 245, line 15 and p. 256, lines 6-7, 20-21; BEYER, *Die aramäischen Texte*, 195 and 206. These readings have been confirmed by a rereading of the text by J. C. GREENFIELD – M. E. STONE, "Remarks on the Aramaic Testament of Levi from the Geniza", *RB* 86 (1979) 214-230 (includes a photograph of the fragment). Translation of the fragment by these authors, based on their rereading, is

The genizah text, of course, is late for our purpose (probably not earlier than the 10th century), and, as has been noted, "there is no doubt ... that it was not transmitted in its original form" (Kutscher), and "it has been tampered with" by scribes (Greenfield)<sup>(27)</sup>. Greenfield and Stone add that the increasing publication of Qumran Aramaic fragments confirms Kutscher's initial conclusion<sup>(28)</sup>. The genizah fragment of *TestLevi*, therefore, by itself cannot stand as evidence of first-century Palestinian Aramaic.

However, we do have an Aramaic fragment of *TestLevi* from Qumran (4QTL<sup>Levi</sup> ar<sup>a</sup> = 4Q213) which corresponds to, and confirms, one of the *mata'* readings in the genizah text (Charles, p. 256, lines 6-7) — it reads *lkl mt wmdynh*<sup>(29)</sup>. Bassler cites this text indirectly through the *Preliminary Concordance* of the Qumran material<sup>(30)</sup> and concludes that it "shows that *mat* = *medina*, 'city' precisely in first-century Palestinian Aramaic". But is *TestLevi* to be dated to first-century CE Palestine? The fragment has been dated by Carbon-14 analysis to the 2nd century BCE (between 191 and 120 BCE), and by paleographic means to the late 2nd – early

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included in H.W. HOLLANDER – M. DE JONGE, *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs: A Commentary* (Leiden 1985) 457-469; our text on pp. 468-469. An earlier translation is in Charles's *APOT* 2:364-367.

<sup>(27)</sup> KUTSCHER, "The Language of the 'Genesis Apocryphon'", 34. Similarly, speaking of other Qumran materials that were paralleled in the genizah — the Damascus Document and Ben Sira — Kutscher noted that the genizah texts were heavily edited. "The Ben Sira fragments from Masada prove that the genizah texts were 'corrected' on every line". (*Erkhe ha-Milon he-Ḥadash le-Sifrut Ḥazal* 1 [Ramat Gan 1972] 20-21, n. 97). J. GREENFIELD, "Standard Literary Aramaic", *Actes du premier congrès international de linguistique sémitique et chamito-sémitique, Paris, 16-19 juillet, 1969* (éd. A. CAQUOT – D. COHEN) (The Hague-Paris 1974) 286, n. 33.

<sup>(28)</sup> "Remarks", 227.

<sup>(29)</sup> 4Q213, PAM 43.241. Fiche 68 in the microfiche edition of the Israel Antiquities Authority, *The Dead Sea Scrolls on Microfiche*, and plate 1277 in Eisenman and Robinson's *Facsimile Edition*. The reconstructed (Qumran + genizah) fragment, was sent to me in advance of publication by the authors, M. Stone and the late J. Greenfield.

<sup>(30)</sup> *Preliminary Concordance to the Hebrew and Aramaic Fragments from Qumran Caves II-X* prepared by R.E. BROWN, J.A. FITZMYER et al. (privately printed in Göttingen, 1988) vol. 10, p. 2308. On Bassler's translation "city", see above, n. 2.

1st century BCE<sup>(31)</sup>. The work itself is undoubtedly older — “on the evidence none of the Aramaic DSS are autographs”<sup>(32)</sup> — and Milik opts for a third- or even fourth-century date<sup>(33)</sup>.

A similar situation obtains with two other “*mata*” texts (not relied on by Basser). First is the recently deciphered Aramaic text in Demotic (pAmh63, col. xvii), which contains the phrase *mt bbr*, i.e. *mt bbl*, “the land of Babylonia”<sup>(34)</sup>. Most important from our point of view is that linguistically the text exhibits connections with “Western Aramaic in general and Galilaean Aramaic in particular”<sup>(35)</sup>. Nevertheless, on chronological grounds we must rule out its use as representative of first-century CE Aramaic. According to Vleeming and Wesselius the papyrus dates from the 4th century BCE and is of Egyptian provenance<sup>(36)</sup>. Steiner and Nims, while agreeing on the location, at first differed on the date and opted for the late second century BCE<sup>(37)</sup>. In a revised view,

(31) BONANI et al., “Radiocarbon Dating of the Dead Sea Scrolls”, 30.

(32) M.O. WISE, “Accidents and Accidence: A Scribal View of Linguistic Dating of the Aramaic Scrolls from Qumran”, *Studies in Qumran Aramaic* (Louvain 1992) [*Abr-Nahrain*, Supplement 3] 140, n. 57.

(33) *The Books of Enoch*, 24.

(34) R.C. STEINER – C.F. NIMS, “Ashurbanipal and Shamash-shum-ukin: A Tale of Two Brothers from the Aramaic Text in Demotic Script”, *RB* 92 (1985) 71 twice, once as *mt b(r)br*. See also the translation of S.P. VLEEMING – J.W. WESSELIUS, *Studies in Papyrus Amherst* 63, vol. 1 (Amsterdam 1985) 34. (I am indebted to E. Qimron for the reference to pAmh63.) A third instance of *mt* may appear elsewhere in this papyrus; see S.P. VLEEMING – J.W. WESSELIUS, “Betel the Saviour”, *JEOL* 28 (1983-84) 135.

(35) R.C. STEINER – C.F. NIMS, “You Can’t Offer Your Sacrifice and Eat it Too: A Polemical Poem from the Aramaic Text in Demotic Script”, *JNES* 43 (1984) 98.

(36) “An Aramaic Hymn from the fourth century B.C.”, *BO* 39 (1982) 501; “Betel the Savior”, 111; *Studies in Papyrus Amherst* 63, 7. See also K.A.D. SMELIK, “The Origin of Psalm 20”, *JSOT* 31 (1985) 78, for an early date (“first half of the first millennium”).

(37) “A Paganized Version of Psalm 20:2-6 from the Aramaic Text in Demotic Script”, *JAOS* 103 (1983) 261. In regard to provenance, the papyrus was found near Thebes and bears a reference to “our home Syene”. Steiner believes that “a link with Elephantine seems unavoidable” (“The Aramaic Text in Demotic Script: The Liturgy in a New Year’s Festival Imported from Bethel to Syene by Exiles from Rash”, *JAOS* 111 [1991] 363).

Steiner would now place the document at the beginning of the Hellenistic period<sup>(38)</sup>.

The second text is a Qumran fragment (4Q536 = 4QBirth of Noah<sup>d</sup>) recently published by Beyer<sup>(39)</sup>. Although Beyer's reading of *bmtt*<sup>2</sup>, "in the lands", is not 100 percent certain to me (the *b* is not at all obvious and the context is too broken to allow for sure reconstruction), it remains possible that we do have the word *mata*<sup>2</sup> in this fragment. If this fragment is part of the Book of Noah (Beyer: "besser zu G[iganten]?"), it would be dated — i.e. the original composition — no later than the first half of the 2nd century BCE, and perhaps earlier, since this work is already incorporated in Jubilees<sup>(40)</sup>.

4QTLevi ar<sup>a</sup>, pAmh63, and 4QBirth of Noah<sup>d</sup> thus reflect an Aramaic vocabulary that antedates Jesus by at least two centuries, and probably by more. Furthermore, these texts presumably represent the written, and not the spoken, dialect. Palestine at this time was linguistically a diglossia with the spoken language representing a different language than the written. "The authors and copyists of [the Qumran] texts were working in a different dialect ... than they spoke"<sup>(41)</sup>. The Aramaic of Qumran is in a dialect that Greenfield has termed "Standard Literary Aramaic". This is the language of *TestLevi* as it is of the written language of

<sup>(38)</sup> Personal communication.

<sup>(39)</sup> *Ergänzungsband*, 126 E6, line 6. PAM 43.575; *The Dead Sea Scrolls on Microfiche* (where the fragment is titled 4QAramaic C), fiche 79; *Facsimile Edition*, plate 1523.

<sup>(40)</sup> MILIK, *Books of Enoch*, 56, dates the work after the end of the 4th century or the first half of the 3rd century BCE (the date of Aramaic *TestLevi*), but before the Greek version of *TestLevi*. Garcia Martinez thinks that it might even predate the Aramaic *TestLevi* (*Qumran and Apocalyptic*, 3, n.9). Regarding the early dating of this and the other Aramaic Qumran fragments, note B.Z. Wacholder's conclusions that these texts are part of "the ancestral patrimony" of the sect and predate its founding, a point hinted at by Greenfield already in 1978. Wacholder opts for a 3rd-2nd century BCE date for most of them ("The Ancient Judaeo-Aramaic Literature [500-154 BCE]: A Classification of Pre-Qumranic Texts", *Archaeology and History in the Dead Sea Scrolls: The New York University Conference in Memory of Yigael Yadin* [ed. L.H. SCHIFFMAN] [Sheffield 1990] 273-274. Greenfield in his "Aramaic and Its Dialects", 35). My opinion about the uncertainty of seeing the word *mt* in the Birth of Noah fragment is shared by E. Qimron (personal correspondence, August 22, 1995).

<sup>(41)</sup> WISE, "Accidents and Accidence", 136-138.

Qumran, and it is “a cardinal error for anyone to assume that it approximates the spoken Palestinian Aramaic of its period”<sup>(42)</sup>.

Despite these distinctions of chronology and dialect, we may still ask whether the vocabulary of the three texts was not familiar to Jesus and his audience. May we not assume that the speakers of a later period understood the writings of an earlier period? After all, these texts — at least the 4Q fragments — continued in use in later times. The Qumran apocalyptic texts, it is now generally believed, antedate the existence of the sect, were incorporated into the sect’s library, and were used and understood by the sect.

Perhaps so. But would Jesus have used the vocabulary of an early and a literary language in a spoken pun and have expected his listeners, whose knowledge of the literary dialect we cannot presume, to understand it? As noted above, Fitzmyer turned to the Qumran material as linguistic evidence for the language of Jesus, but he admits that “the discussion of the Aramaic background of the NT should be limited to ... Aramaic evidence of the period contemporary with or slightly prior to the composition of the Greek New Testament writings themselves. The ideal period would be from the first century and the beginning of the second up until the revolt of Simon ben Kosiba (132-135)”<sup>(43)</sup>. To this important qualification we may add that of the spoken, as opposed to the written, dialect. On the basis of these two criteria, 4QTL<sup>Levi</sup> ar<sup>a</sup>, pAmh63, and 4QBirth of Noah<sup>d</sup> fail to supply linguistic evidence for Jesus’ *ipsissima verba*.

In sum, the major problem in retroverting to Jesus’ original speech lies in proving that the targeted vocabulary was part of the spoken lexical base of the time. In regard to *mata*<sup>?</sup>, this has not been shown. Either the evidence does not exist, or it derives from sources predating or postdating Jesus by centuries, or from a nonspeaking

<sup>(42)</sup> GREENFIELD, “Standard Literary Aramaic”, 286. Similarly in “Aramaic and Its Dialects”, *Jewish Languages: Theme and Variations* (Cambridge, MA 1978) 35-36, where Greenfield argues against using Qumran Aramaic (literary) as a means of uncovering the *ipsissima verba* (vernacular) of Jesus. On this issue, see also FITZMYER, *A Wandering Aramean*, 9, 72-74. P. Lapide has proposed a different sort of diglossia at work, in which Hebrew, the “High” language, was used for “religious” purposes, while Aramaic, the “Low” language was restricted to “secular” statements; “Insights from Qumran into the Language of Jesus”, *RevQ* 8 (1975) 483-502.

<sup>(43)</sup> *A Wandering Aramean*, 5; see further pp. 8-9.

literary dialect. In fact, a review of the linguistic evidence will reveal that in Late Aramaic *mata* belonged exclusively to the vocabulary of the eastern dialects; its equivalent in the western dialects was apparently *qarta*.

## II. Dialectal Location of *mata* and *qarta*

### 1. *mata*

An examination of the various dictionaries and standard collections will show that *mt* is a commonly found word in Old and Official Aramaic<sup>(44)</sup>. Some examples follow:

Fekherye: In this bilingual Assyrian-Aramaic inscription from 9th-century BCE Syria, *mt(h)* occurs three times (lines 3,5 and 23)<sup>(45)</sup>.

Ashur ostrakon (7th century BCE, Babylon): *bmtkdy*, "in the region of Akkad"<sup>(46)</sup>.

Nineveh (7th century BCE): *bmt bbšqn*, "in the region of Babshuqin"<sup>(47)</sup>.

<sup>(44)</sup> See J. HOFTIJZER – K. JONGELING, *Dictionary of the North-West Semitic Inscriptions* (Leiden 1995) 706-707 (now replacing C.-F. JEAN – J. HOFTIJZER, *Dictionnaire des inscriptions sémitiques de l'ouest*, 1965), and the sources to which reference is made. Not to be confused with the Samalian *mt* in the Hadad (*KAI* 214) and Panammu (*KAI* 215) inscriptions, which is to be translated as an adverb "always" or "immediately", or as an emphatic particle, "certainly", "indeed", (for the latter translation, add to Hoftijzer-Jongeling's references also J. TROPPER, "Sam'alisch *mt* 'wahrlich' und das Phänomen der Aphärese im Semitischen", *Or* 61 [1992] 448-453]. In I. N. VINNIKOV, "Slovar' Arameyskikh Nadpisey" (A Dictionary of Aramaic Inscriptions), which appeared in a series of articles in *Palestinskiy Sbornik* 3 [66] (1958) 171-216; 4 [67] (1959) 196-240; 7 [70] (1962) 192-237; 9 [72] (1962) 141-158; 11 [74] (1964) 189-232; 13 [76] (1965) 217-262, *mt* is at 11 [74] (1964) 205.

<sup>(45)</sup> A. ABOU-ASSAF – P. BORDREUIL – A. R. MILLARD, *La Statue de Tell Fekherye* (Paris 1982) 23-24.

<sup>(46)</sup> H. DONNER – W. RÖLLIG, *Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften* (Wiesbaden 1962) no. 233. J. C. L. GIBSON, *Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscriptions* (Oxford 1975) vol. 2, no. 20. *mt 'kdh* (thus) is also found in the inscription (7th-6th centuries) published by A. CAQUOT, "Une inscription araméenne d'époque assyrienne", *Hommages à André Dupont-Sommer* (Paris 1971) 9.

<sup>(47)</sup> *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum* (Paris 1889) vol. 2, no. 31; L. DELAPORTE, *Épigraphes araméens* (Paris 1912) 47-48, no. 30.

Adon papyrus (end 7th century BCE): *bmt*<sup>48</sup>.

Saqqāra (5th century BCE): *bnbyh mt*<sup>49</sup> ..., *bmt nbyh* "in the land of Nbyh", *wmtk* (?), *mth zy* (?), *bmtwh*[, "in his place[s]"<sup>(49)</sup>.

Aḥiqar (5th century BCE): *mt*<sup>50</sup>.

Bisitun (5th century BCE): *mt*<sup>51</sup>, *bm[t hrwḥty* "in the land of Arachosia"<sup>(51)</sup>.

In Old and Official Aramaic *mata*<sup>2</sup> appears fairly often. In Middle Aramaic (200 BCE - 200 CE) we have not found a trace, with the possible exception of 4QBirth of Noah<sup>d</sup> at the beginning of this period. What is the situation in Late Aramaic?

In this stage of the language two dialects are obvious, and we find that *mata*<sup>2</sup> is consistently represented in the vocabulary of one of them (Eastern Aramaic), and is absent in the other (Western Aramaic). According to the dictionaries and databases, the word appears commonly in Syriac (including modern vernacular), Mandaic and Babylonian Talmudic Aramaic — all of the eastern branch. On the other hand, it does not appear in the western dialects. It is not found at all in the Palestinian Talmud<sup>(52)</sup>. In all aggadic midrashim that I could check, it appears but once — *LevR* 24.3, which we saw above is not the reading of the manuscripts and is incorrect. The word is also absent in Targum Onqelos, Targum Neofiti, and Targum Jonathan (Prophets)<sup>(53)</sup>. It is no wonder that

<sup>(48)</sup> KAI no.266; GIBSON, *Textbook*, vol. 2, no.21; B. PORTEN – A. YARDENI, *Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt* (Jerusalem 1981-) 1:6 A1.1.

<sup>(49)</sup> J.B. SEGAL, *Aramaic Texts from North Saqqāra* (London 1983) nos. 2, 10a, 29, and 55a; PORTEN – YARDENI, *Textbook of Aramaic Documents*, 2:150 B 8.1, 2:168 B 8.9.

<sup>(50)</sup> A. COWLEY, *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.* (Oxford 1923) 213, line 36; PORTEN – YARDENI, *Textbook of Aramaic Documents*, 3:30.

<sup>(51)</sup> J.C. GREENFIELD – B. PORTEN, *The Bisitun Inscription of Darius the Great: Aramaic Version* (London 1982) lines 29, 60 (partially restored), 62 = PORTEN – YARDENI, *Textbook of Aramaic Documents*, 3:66-68. Restored readings in COWLEY, *Aramaic Papyri*, 252-253, lines 16, 17, 48; GREENFIELD-PORTEN, *Bisitun Inscription* and PORTEN-YARDENI, *Textbook of Aramaic Documents*, lines 30 and 35.

<sup>(52)</sup> Well before databases, J. LEVY, *Wörterbuch über die Talmudim und Midraschim* (Berlin 1924) s.v., noticed its absence in the Palestinian Talmud (not in JPA, as Basser has it), as did S. KRAUSS, *Qadmoniyot ha-Talmud* (Berlin-Vienna <sup>2</sup>1923) 1/1:48, who noted its absence also in the midrashic literature.

<sup>(53)</sup> KAUFMAN, *The Akkadian Influences on Aramaic*, 161, for Onqelos



Sokoloff does not include *mata'* in his new dictionary of JPA. Nor does the word appear in F. Schultess's dictionary of CPA (*Lexicon Syropalaestinum*). It seems quite clear that in Late Aramaic the word is restricted to Eastern Aramaic<sup>(54)</sup>.

Can we push this conclusion back a century or two to the time of Jesus? The dialect division between East and West is clear and pronounced in Late Aramaic. It may be that such a dialect division existed also earlier in Middle Aramaic. Some have argued for such a division in Official and even in Old Aramaic, and Ginsberg and Greenfield have classified Official Aramaic as an Eastern dialect<sup>(55)</sup>. In a recent article, also arguing against the "*Stammbaum*" reconstruction of Aramaic dialectal history, D. Boyarin has concluded: "From the earliest period of Aramaic known to us, it

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and Jonathan; for Neofiti, S. KAUFMAN – M. SOKOLOFF, eds., *A Key-Word-in-Context Concordance to Targum Neofiti* (Baltimore 1993).

<sup>(54)</sup> This was already noticed by KAUFMAN, *The Akkadian Influences on Aramaic*, 71, who shows the Akkadian origin (*mātu*) of the word. Two other presumed appearances of *mata'* must be ruled out of our discussion for both their late date and their suspect reading. (1) An Aramaic magical text from Oxyrhynchus (6th century CE) contains a line which, according to Beyer's reading, includes the phrase *wkl mt* (*Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer*, 367). However, the line is very unclear and the publisher of the text, F. Klein-Franke, cannot make it out with any degree of certainty. He reads *wglmt* with doubt and does not translate the line at all ("Eine aramäische Tabella Devotionis", *ZPE* 7 [1971] 47-52). Basing himself on Kutscher, Klein-Franke feels that the text is linguistically of Western Aramaic origin. (2) In the formulary of a *ḥaliṣah* document, as preserved in *Hilkhot Re'u* (circa 10th century; place unknown), the word *mata'* appears three times (ed. A. L. Schlossberg [Versailles 1886] 121). However, the word does not appear in the parallel in *Halakhot Gedolot* and, more importantly, a genizah fragment of the *ḥaliṣah* text has *qarta'* in place of *mata'*. N. Danzig notes in this regard that *qarta'* is the term that appears in Palestinian documents (*sheṭarot*) (*Halakhot Gedolot* [Jerusalem 1980] 2:145). For the genizah reading, see N. DANZIG, *Mavo' le-Sefer Halakhot Pesuqot* (Jerusalem 1993) 93, n. 120 to whom I am indebted for the reference.

<sup>(55)</sup> The early dialect division of Aramaic has been argued in a series of articles by H. L. Ginsberg, E. Y. Kutscher, and J. Greenfield. See the discussion in FITZMYER, *A Wandering Aramean*, 70-71, and J. GREENFIELD, "The Dialects of Early Aramaic", *JNES* 37 (1978) 93-99 and the literature cited there. A. TAL, *Leshon ha-Targum li-Nevi'im Rishonim u-Ma'amadah bi-Khlal Nive ha-'Aramit* [= "The Language of the Targum of the Former Prophets and Its Position within the Aramaic Dialects"] (Tel Aviv 1975) Introduction, 30-32, provides a review of the debate to his time.

has been characterized by a continuum of dialects ... There seem to have been dialectal differences which were consistent from the Old Aramaic period through Imperial Aramaic into the dialects”<sup>(56)</sup>.

Nevertheless, even if the dialectal division of Aramaic existed in the Middle Aramaic phase of the language, that does not mean that *mata*’ would have been necessarily restricted to the presumed eastern dialects, thus excluding its use by Jesus. In a study of the morphological features of Qumran Aramaic, E. M. Cook has found that its isoglosses “range across the geographical spectrum from East [Hatra, Edessene, Palmyrene] to West ... Palestinian Aramaic continued to be open to waves originating from other dialect centers”<sup>(57)</sup>. It is reasonable to assume that if this is true in morphology, it would be true in vocabulary. In fact, S. Kaufman has shown this to be the case in regard to Akkadian borrowings in Official Aramaic: “they are found in all groups and all genres ... Dialectal divisions solely on lexical grounds” cannot be made<sup>(58)</sup>. It is thus possible that even if a word shows up later only in eastern dialects, it existed at an earlier stage in “western” JPA.

A different theoretical reconstruction, based on the *Stammbaum* model, would assume that the division between eastern and western dialects did not occur until the Late Aramaic phase. In this case the lexical base we find in Old and Official Aramaic would have continued into Middle Aramaic, JPA included. In such a reconstruction, *mata*’ would have continued in use throughout Old, Official and Middle Aramaic (JPA included) and then would have been retained exclusively in eastern dialects.

Whichever hypothetical reconstruction one chooses, the facts in regard to *mata*’ leave us with the large hole of Middle Aramaic<sup>(59)</sup>. The word exists commonly in Old and Official Aramaic and then

<sup>(56)</sup> “An Inquiry into the Formation of the Middle Aramaic Dialects”, *Bono Homini Donum: Essays in Historical Linguistics in Memory of J. Alexander Kerns* (ed. Y. L. ARBEITMAN – A. R. BOMHARD) (Amsterdam 1981) 2:613-649; quotation on pp. 643-644.

<sup>(57)</sup> “Qumran Aramaic and Aramaic Dialectology”, *Studies in Qumran Aramaic*, 16.

<sup>(58)</sup> *The Akkadian Influences on Aramaic*, 157.

<sup>(59)</sup> *Mata*’ in the Makter Phoenician inscription (KAI 145) is, as has been pointed out, a mistake for *maṭa*’, “below” (*qr*’ *lm m’P mṭ*’, “read them from top to bottom”). See KAI 2:143 and G. A. COOKE, *A Text-Book of North-Semitic Inscriptions* (Oxford 1903) 155.

again in Late Aramaic exclusively in eastern dialects. What happened in between? We do not know; there are no extant attestations<sup>(60)</sup>.

With this conclusion we can return to the methodological issues of retroversion and ask whether it is sound to fill in the unknown as Basser has done. Using his approach we can just as well posit a different retroversion, this one employing the use of Hebrew *\*mot* (pl. *metim*), "person", and it would be just as wrong. The word is common in Biblical Hebrew and is also found in Amorite (proper name), Akkadian, Egyptian, Ugaritic and Ethiopic<sup>(61)</sup>. Perhaps it was in use in the Aramaic of Jesus' time. Or, if not, perhaps Jesus used the Hebrew word in a pun that was spoken in Hebrew or a mix of Hebrew and Aramaic ("You follow me; let the people bury the dead"). All things are possible. But it is the application of methodological rigor to our theories that turns the possible into the probable, with which we ought to be concerned<sup>(62)</sup>.

## 2. *qarta'*

The discussion above on *Leviticus Rabbah* gave some indication that in Late Aramaic *qryh* (*qrth'*) may be the western equivalent for the eastern *mata'*. Yet, *qrt'* is commonly found in the Babylonian Talmud. A close examination of the evidence, however, would appear to invalidate, or at the least weaken, the evidence of the Talmud.

*Qry/qryh* commonly occurs in Old and Official Aramaic, as seen by a check of the entries in Hoftijzer and K. Jongeling, *Dictionary of the North-West Semitic Inscriptions*.

In Middle Aramaic, Fitzmyer and Harrington list five occurrences (excluding reconstructions) from Qumran (4QpsDan,

<sup>(60)</sup> I exclude from consideration 4Q Birth of Noah. As said above, this text is dated to the beginning of, if not before, the Middle Aramaic period, and is thus much too early for our consideration. Furthermore, it represents (Greenfield et al.) Standard Literary Aramaic, a written dialect whose origins are in Eastern Aramaic.

<sup>(61)</sup> W. VON SODEN, *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch* (Wiesbaden 1965-1981) 2:690, s.v. *mutu*. L. KOEHLER – W. BAUMGARTNER, *Hebräisches und aramäisches Lexikon zum Alten Testament* (Leiden <sup>3</sup>1974) 617.

<sup>(62)</sup> Another attempt at retroverting Matt 8,22 was made by M. BLACK, *An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts* (Oxford <sup>3</sup>1967) 207-208: "Let those who waver [*metinin*] bury the dead".

5QNewJerus, 11QTgJob) and one from a later period, the En Gedi Synagogue inscription<sup>(63)</sup>. This last reference can be supplemented by the Palestinian synagogue inscriptions in Aramaic found at Husefah, Bet Alpha (partially restored text), and Susyah<sup>(64)</sup>. Several more instances of *qrt* in Qumran Aramaic can be found in the *Preliminary Concordance* and in Beyer's indexes<sup>(65)</sup>. Rosenthal's *Handbook* shows the word in Old and Middle Aramaic (Palmyrene) and Late Aramaic of the western dialects (JPA, Samaritan Aramaic, Neo-Aramaic Ma'lula) and of Syriac<sup>(66)</sup>. The 10th-11th century Samaritan dictionary (*Ha-Melis*), published by Ben-Hayyim, has it in Samaritan Aramaic for Hebrew 'ir<sup>(67)</sup>. Nöldeke notes its appearance in Phoenician (in the place-name Carthage), CPA, and Neo-Aramaic Ṭur 'Abdin<sup>(68)</sup>.

*Qarta* appears regularly in the Palestinian Talmud (twelve times) and in aggadic midrashim (fifty-one times), and it is the consistent translation of 'ir in Targum Onqelos and Targum Neofiti<sup>(69)</sup>. In the Samaritan Targum (both manuscripts published by Tal), spot checks of several occurrences of 'ir always turn up a version of *qrth* as translation. Jewish divorce documents (in Aramaic) from 10th-11th century Israel also attest to the use of *qarta*<sup>(70)</sup>.

(63) FITZMYER – HARRINGTON, *A Manual of Palestinian Aramaic Texts*, indices. See also HOFTIJZER–JONGELING, *Dictionary*, 1037, s.v. *qrt*.

(64) J. NAVEH, *On Stone and Mosaic: The Aramaic and Hebrew Inscriptions from Ancient Synagogues* [Hebrew] (Tel Aviv 1978) 66, 72, and 122. The En Gedi inscription is on p. 70.

(65) *Concordance*, 10:2392-2393. BEYER, *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer*, vol. 1, 686; vol. 2, 409.

(66) *An Aramaic Handbook* (Wiesbaden 1967) vol. 2/2, glossaries. The occurrence of *qry*, however, in the Palmyrene bilingual tariff (COOKE, *A Text-Book of North-Semitic Inscriptions*, 329, line 13) may transliterate, rather than translate, the Greek χωρία, which it parallels; see Cooke's note on p. 339.

(67) 'Ivrit we-'Aramit Nusah Shomron (Jerusalem 1957) 2:545.

(68) *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft* (Strassburg 1910) 131.

(69) Talmud and midrash according to the Bar-Ilan "Responsa" database. Targum Onqelos according to *Oṣar Leshon Targum 'Onqelos* (revised ed. M. KOSOVSKY) (Jerusalem 1986). Targum Neofiti: *A Key-Word-in-Context Concordance to Targum Neofiti* (above, n. 53). For the semantic range of *qarta*, see Y. SUSSMAN, "Ketovet Hilkhait me-'Emeq Bet-She'an", *Tarbiz* 43 (1974) 106, n. 104; SOKOLOFF, *Dictionary*, 505-506, s.v.; and NAVEH, *On Stone and Mosaic*, 109.

(70) M. FRIEDMAN, "Yedi'ot Ḥadashot mi-Kitve ha-Genizah ha-

Balancing the appearance of *qarta'* in the western dialects is the word's common occurrence in the Babylonian Talmud. However, these attestations may not in fact provide evidence of the word in BTA, for of the many times that the word appears in the Talmud<sup>(71)</sup>, it is either: in a biblical quotation or an exegesis or other usage of a biblical place-name ('*Eruv* 53a, *San* 38a, *RH* 31b, *Ta'an* 29a, *Sheq* 15b, *BB* 78b, *Mak* 10a, '*AZ* 24b, *Hor* 10b, *Soṭ* 13a, *Zev* 118b, *Nid* 16b), an incorrect reading (*Qid* 16b: *yod qeret* for the place-name *ydqrt*<sup>(72)</sup>; *San* 98a: *qarta'* for a censored *Romi*)<sup>(73)</sup>, in a Palestinian — and not Babylonian — Talmud text (*Sheq* 15a), or in a quotation of a Western Aramaic or Official Aramaic speaker/writer: an interlocutor of R. Elazar b. Šadoq (*Suk* 44b)<sup>(74)</sup>, Rabbi (*BM* 85a), R. Yoḥanan (*BB* 91b, cf. *Nid* 16b), Targum Jonathan to Isa 19,18 (*Men* 110a)<sup>(75)</sup>, and put into the mouth of Sennacherib (*San* 95a) and Merodach-Baladan (*San* 96a), which probably reflects the talmudic editors' (or sources') perception of how these Babylonian kings would have spoken.

Of all the citations in the concordance, only seven would appear to be in the eastern dialect of BTA<sup>(76)</sup>. These seven instances, however, share two characteristics which may invalidate them as evidence for BTA. First, each incident tells a story that took place in Palestine and concerns Palestinian personalities: the sons of

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Qahirit", *Between Yarqon and Ayalon* [Hebrew] (ed. D. GROSSMAN) (Ramat Gan 1983) 81 and 85, n. 47.

(71) See Kossovsky's concordance, '*Oṣar Leshon ha-Talmud*, 34:686 and 722.

(72) See Kossovsky's references (B. M. LEVIN, '*Oṣar ha-Geonim*, vol. 9: *Qiddushin* [Jerusalem 1939] 19 and 207), p. 722, and *bTa'an* 23b-24a and 21b.

(73) See R. RABBINOVICZ, *Diqduqe Soferim*, ad loc.

(74) Or Elazar b. Isaac (A. HYMAN, *Toledot Tannaim we-Amoraim* [London 1910] 1:184). In any case, the matter discussed — Sabbatical laws regarding the man's field — shows that the dialect used was that spoken in Palestine.

(75) In the talmudic text, R. Joseph, head of a Babylonian academy, quotes an anonymous Targum. For its identification as Targum Jonathan (Prophets), see P. CHURGIN, *Targum Jonathan to the Prophets* (New Haven 1927) 13-14. The Palestinian composition of this Targum has been demonstrated by A. Tal in his *Leshon ha-Targum*.

(76) Kossovsky, p. 686, s.v. *le-qiryeta'* (*Ber* 18b, *Beṣ* 9b, *Nid* 24a; '*Eruv* 28b, *Pes* 3b, *Yev* 105a, *BB* 98b).

R. Ḥiyya, R. Jeremiah, Levi, R. Ḥanina, and Yoḥanan Ḥaḳoqaʾah<sup>(77)</sup>. Second, in each case the word under discussion appears in precisely the same phrase, *nefaq le-qiryeta* or *qiryeta* (*bene R. Ḥiyya nefaq le-qiryeta*, *R. Yirmeyah nefaq le-qiryeta*, *Yoḥanan Ḥaḳoqaʾah nefaq le-qiryeta*, *Levi nefaq le-qiryeta*, *R. Ḥanina nefaq le-qiryeta*), thus suggesting that we might be dealing with a frozen expression<sup>(78)</sup>. If this is the case, the expression would not necessarily provide evidence for the vocabulary of the dialect. These two qualifications — the Palestinian environment and the similar phrasing — may indicate that the five different stories originated in the western Palestinian dialect and were transmitted, with certain frozen stock phrases, in BTA. In any case, at the very least, it would seem that the apparently overwhelming evidence for *qartaʾ* in BTA is questionable.

The only “eastern” dialect, then, in which *qartaʾ* makes an unequivocal appearance is Syriac, where it is commonly found<sup>(79)</sup>. However, Syriac is not a pure eastern dialect. Both its vocabulary and its grammar have been shown to share elements common to western dialects<sup>(80)</sup>. Its place in a schematic of dialect relationships would put it somewhere between the eastern and western dialects of Late Aramaic.

<sup>(77)</sup> R. Ḥiyya’s sons, R. Jeremiah and R. Ḥanina, emigrated to Palestine (*bSuk* 20a, *bKet* 75a, and *bMen* 79b respectively). On Yoḥanan Ḥaḳoqaʾah, see HYMAN, *Toledot*, 2:687.

<sup>(78)</sup> Perhaps indicative of the frozen character of the phrase is the fact that *nefaq le-qiryetaʾ* may have the specific meaning of “to go to the fields”. See S. Krauss’s discussion in *Qadmoniyot ha-Talmud* 1/1:44-45, and note that in the two Palestinian parallels (*pNid* 3.2 50c end // *bNid* 24a; *pBeṣ* 1.4 60c // *bBeṣ* 9b) to the stories of R. Ḥiyya’s sons, the text reads *le-bar* (*le-baraʾ*) (“to the fields”, “to the country”) instead of *le-qiryeta*. See J. N. EPSTEIN, *Mavoʾ le-Nusah ha-Mishnah* (Jerusalem 21964) 16. On *bar*, see the dictionaries and D. Goldenberg in *In the Margins of the Yerushalmi* (ed. J. NEUSNER) (Chico, CA 1983) 131.

<sup>(79)</sup> R. PAYNE SMITH, *Thesaurus Syriacus* (Oxford 1879) s.v. *qrʾ*.

<sup>(80)</sup> Vocabulary: TAL, *Leshon ha-Targum*, 215 (= p.xi of the English summary). Grammar: BOYARIN, “An Inquiry”. “[Syriac] belongs, in my opinion, both from the geographic and linguistic points of view, in an intermediate position between East and West” (GREENFIELD, “Aramaic and Its Dialects”, 37).

## Conclusion

In conclusion, it would appear that within Late Aramaic *mata'* is restricted to the eastern dialects, and *qarta'*, its equivalent, to the western dialects. (Syriac, a dialect sharing western and eastern features, has both words.) This confirms our earlier findings regarding the question of Jesus' *ipsissima verba*. Chronological and dialectal evidence thus converge to indicate that *mata'* was not part of the vocabulary of spoken JPA and would not likely have been used by Jesus.

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# ANIMADVERSIONES

## The Sun, Moon, and Stars of Mark 13,24-25 in a Greco-Roman Reading \*

... the sun will be darkened, and the moon will not give its light, and the stars will be falling from heaven, and the powers in the heavens will be shaken ...

### I

However much interpretations differ about Mark 13, there is hardly any substantial difference of opinion about the referential aspects of vv. 24-25. In the case of Mark 13 differences relate both to the possible use of a source — and the origin, nature and extent of this<sup>(1)</sup> — and to the structure of the discourse<sup>(2)</sup>. In the case of vv. 24-25 they are limited to a number of questions relating to the content of the passage. The first question is whether αἱ δυνάμεις (the powers) refers to material heavenly bodies or to invisible celestial powers, and whether the breaking down of the heavenly bodies should be understood in a more or less literal or only in a symbolical sense<sup>(3)</sup>. The second question is which of the OT passages that provide the background to these verses is predominant, Isa 13,10 and 34,4 or Joel 2,10 and 3,4.20<sup>(4)</sup>. And the third, whether the announced phenomena introduce a scene of judgement or not<sup>(5)</sup>.

\* This contribution was presented as a short paper at the 1995 SNTS Congress in Prague.

<sup>(1)</sup> In particular: G. R. BEASLEY-MURRAY, *Jesus and the Future* (London 1956); L. HARTMAN, *Prophecy Interpreted. The Formation of some Jewish Apocalyptic Texts and of the Eschatological Discourse Mark 13 par.* (ConB NT 1; Lund 1966); J. LAMBRECHT, *Die Redaktion der Markus-Apokalypse* (AnBib 28; Roma 1967); R. PESCH, *Naherwartungen, Tradition und Redaktion in Mk 13* (Düsseldorf 1968) 203-223; E. BRANDENBURGER, *Markus 13 und die Apokalyptik* (FRLANT 134; Göttingen 1984) 21-73; D. WENHAM, *The Rediscovery of Jesus' Eschatological Discourse* (Gospel Perspectives 4; Sheffield 1984).

<sup>(2)</sup> Especially F. ROUSSEAU, "La structure de Marc 13", *Bib* 56 (1975) 157-172; LAMBRECHT, *Markus-Apokalypse*, 263-297; PESCH, *Naherwartungen*, 74-83; B. STANDAERT, *L'Évangile selon Marc, Composition et Genre Littéraire* (Brugge 1978) 231-254; BRANDENBURGER, *Markus 13*, 164-165; C. BREYTENBACH, *Nachfolge und Zukunftserwartung nach Markus* (ATANT 71; Zürich 1984) 288-302; C. MYERS, *Binding the Strong Man. A Political Reading of Mark's Story of Jesus* (Maryknoll 1990) 331; M. D. HOOKER, *The Gospel According to Saint Mark* (Black's NT Commentary II; London-Peabody 1991) 300-302.

<sup>(3)</sup> E. P. GOULD, *The Gospel According to St. Mark* (ICC; Edinburgh 1932) 230; H. B. SWETE, *The Gospel According to St. Mark* (London 1920) 311; C. E. B. CRANFIELD, *The Gospel According to Saint Mark* (Cambridge 1959) 406; P. CARRINGTON, *According to Mark* (Cambridge 1960) 281-283; HOOKER, *Mark*, 318-319; PESCH, *Naherwartungen*, 158-160.

<sup>(4)</sup> CARRINGTON, *Mark*, 281; LAMBRECHT, *Markus-Apokalypse*, 176-178; PESCH, *Naherwartungen*, 13-166; J. GNILKA, *Das Evangelium nach Markus* (Zürich-Neukirchen-Vluyn 1978/9) 200; HOOKER, *Mark*, 318.

<sup>(5)</sup> PESCH, *Naherwartungen*, 166-172; F. J. MATERA, *The Kingship of Jesus*



A question hardly raised in the literature on the subject, however, is the reference of ὁ ἥλιος ἡ σελήνη, and οἱ ἀστέρες. The current commentaries and monographs assume without question that the words refer to material heavenly bodies, and that the announcement concerns natural disasters of cosmic proportions<sup>(6)</sup>. That is not surprising because in these publications the text of Mark is seen from the perspective of the author, from the sources he used, and from the OT passages incorporated in it. The same goes for authors who point out that in apocalyptic the stars are manned and controlled by angels<sup>(7)</sup>. Although this holds true of apocalyptic in general, it is difficult to see how such a representation of the angels here is compatible with what would be their likely lot when the celestial bodies break down, and consequently how their negative role in v.26 can be reconciled with the positive task allotted to them in v.27, where they are sent out to gather the elect. Be that as it may, this representation too is derived from what may be called the background perspective of the text<sup>(8)</sup>. The question of the effect of these words on the hearer or reader — which could be called the foreground perspective of the text in contrast to its background perspective — is as such not at issue in historical critical exegesis.

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(SBLDS 66; Chicago 1982) 111-113; BRANDENBURGER, *Markus 13*, 54-65, 102-103; BREYTENBACH, *Nachfolge*, 296; C.S. MANN, *Mark* (AB 27; New York 1986) 530; T.J. GEDDERT, *Watchwords, Mark 13 in Markan Eschatology* (JSNTSS 26; Sheffield 1989) 226-229.

<sup>(6)</sup> M.-J. LAGRANGE, *Évangile selon Saint Marc* (EB; Paris 1947) 345; V. TAYLOR, *The Gospel According to St. Mark* (London 1952; 1957) 517-518; W. GRUNDMANN, *Das Evangelium nach Markus* (THKNT 2; Berlin 1962) 268-269; F. BELO, *Lecture matérialiste de l'Évangile de Marc* (Paris 1974) 269-270; R. PESCH, *Das Markusevangelium* (HTKNT 2/II; Freiburg 1977) 302-304; BRANDENBURGER, *Markus 13*, 100-103; BREYTENBACH, *Nachfolge*, 297; D. LÜHRMANN, *Das Markusevangelium* (HNT 3; Tübingen 1987) 224; R.H. GUNDRY, *Mark, A Commentary on his Apology for the Cross* (Grand Rapids 1992) 745; J.P. HEIL, *The Gospel of Mark as a Model for Action. A Reader-Response Commentary* (New York 1992) 266; O. DAVIDSEN, *The Narrative Jesus, A Semiotic Reading of the Gospel of Mark* (Aarhus 1993) 123; G.R. Beasley-Murray thinks rather of the extinguishing of the celestial bodies, so that the glory of the son of man can illuminate heaven (*A Commentary on Mark Thirteen* [London 1957] 87). This, however, is difficult to reconcile with v. 25.

<sup>(7)</sup> GRUNDMANN, *Markus*, 269; D.E. NINEHAM, *The Gospel of Saint Mark* (The Pelican NT Commentaries; Harmondsworth 1963) 357; E. HAENCHEN, *Der Weg Jesu. Eine Erklärung des Markus-Evangeliums und der kanonischen Parallelen* (Sammlung Töpelmann II/6; Berlin 1966) 449; R.H. GUNDRY, *Matthew, A Commentary on His Literary and Theological Art* (Grand Rapids 1982) 487; id., *Mark*, 783; J. Gnika rejects this (*Markus*, 2010). L.W. Hurtado thinks that "the language originated in ancient Israelite times when the sun, moon, and stars were believed to represent deities who controlled world affairs..." and "...in Mark's time belief in the power of celestial bodies was still strong ... and the meaning of the statements would not be lost on his readers" (L.W. HURTADO, *Mark* [NIBC 2; Peabody, MA 1989; 1993] 222). But he does not connect this with names of deities and the implications it may have had for the first-century readers of Mark.

<sup>(8)</sup> The same goes for W. MARXSEN, *Der Evangelist Markus* (FRLANT 67; Göttingen 1956; 1959) 108-128. Like many predecessors, he regards 13,24-25 as part of an apocalyptic pamphlet, without putting the question of whether it may have received a different meaning in a Christian context.

## II

The question of the reader and what he or she makes of the text came to be considered only when exegesis turned to other auxiliary sciences besides linguistics and history. Especially textual science, semiotics, narratology, and literary criticism have helped exegetes to reflect on the reading process and the role of the reader. Finally, reader-response criticism<sup>(9)</sup> has clearly formalized this question. Meanwhile, these new methods have produced books which may be considered for interpreters of Mark, such as M. A. Tolbert's *Sowing the Gospel* and especially R. Fowler's *Let the Reader Understand*<sup>(10)</sup>.

With respect to both books I would like to observe in passing that for reader-oriented exegesis it is not enough to distinguish between the implied and the real reader<sup>(11)</sup>. There is a methodological argument to distinguish also between the original audience and all later flesh and blood readers, including the readers of today. The main argument is that the implied reader is a construct of the author derived from the image he had of his intended readers. For today's readers this construct, the implied reader, works as a system of guidelines for their reading process. Of course, the image of the original audience is likewise no more than a construct of today's analyst. And the creation of this construct, the original audience, confronts us again with the problem of the historical origin of the text but prevents us on the other hand from falling into what some consider to be the trap of deconstructivism.

## III

Holding on to the distinction between contemporary and later readers, one may wonder what 13,24-25 meant to the readers living in Rome or Syria shortly after 70, and what present-day readers with quite different cosmological ideas make of these words of Jesus. This short paper is confined to the first question: How did readers of shortly after 70 understand Mark 13,24-25? Although it does make a difference whether the first readers should be situated in Syria or, as I rather think, in Rome, in both cases we have to do with Christians of gentile origin who understood simple Greek and shared with people living in Rome or the provinces the Greco-Roman culture of the time<sup>(12)</sup>.

<sup>(9)</sup> A commentary presenting itself as a reader-response commentary is J. P. Heil's book referred to in n. 6.

<sup>(10)</sup> R. M. FOWLER, *Let the Reader Understand. Reader-Response Criticism and the Gospel of Mark* (Minneapolis 1991); M. A. TOLBERT, *Sowing the Gospel. Mark's World in Literary-Historical Perspective* (Minneapolis 1989).

<sup>(11)</sup> In that respect the books by Tolbert and Fowler mentioned in n. 10 are each other's counterparts. Tolbert views Mark from the ancient novel and Fowler leaves the reading situation of the readers from Mark's period out of consideration. The contemporary reader is also left out of account by HEIL, *Mark*, who complements his comments on each episode with piously coloured and moralising observations which bear no relation to the narrative development of Mark and the meaning of Mark's story as a whole.

<sup>(12)</sup> On the relation between Mark and Rome: B. VAN IERSEL, "De thuishaven van Marcus", *Tijdschrift voor Theologie* 32 (1992) 125-142 with some new argu-

Although any answer to the above question is somewhat hypothetical, I suspect that an audience of that description, reading or hearing what will happen to the sun, moon, and stars, thought not just of material heavenly bodies but also, and at least in case of ὁ ἥλιος and ἡ σελήνη possibly even primarily, of illustrious inhabitants of the Greco-Roman world of the gods<sup>(13)</sup>. In the preceding part of the book ὁ ἥλιος is used only in 1,32 and 4,6, and each time in the sense of a material heavenly body. Consequently, the reference to a divine figure is far from obvious. Because of the combination with ἡ σελήνη, which occurs only here in Mark, the reference of v.24 may be different. In the countries on the east side of the Mediterranean as well as in Egypt and the Roman Empire, the cult of Helios, the sun-god, and Selene, the moon-goddess, dates back to a very early period in human history. In both Syria and Rome, ὁ ἥλιος-*Sol* and his female counterpart and sister ἡ σελήνη-*Luna* had their own place in the Roman pantheon. Moreover, it was not only *Sol* and *Luna* but also the other planets that had names of deities. And irrespective of whether they were called *Mars*, *Jupiter*, *Venus*, *Saturnus*, or *Mercurius*, when hearing any of these names, people in the Roman Empire would have thought first of the deity and only then of the celestial body. Particularly in Rome, where the sun and the moon were worshipped as “gods of the chariot races”, the two deities must have been extremely popular<sup>(14)</sup>.

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ments (summary in English on 142). That the worship of the sun-god was not unusual in Syria and sometimes had Roman features appears from F. CUMONT, *Die orientalischen Religionen im Römischen Heidentum* (Stuttgart 1959). The appendices contain some interesting illustrations. Pl. I, fig. 3, shows a Phoenician altar with an eagle (the symbol of heaven), and on the sides of the altar (not shown in the picture) Helios and Selene. Pl. 4 shows in fig. 3 the four sides of a votive offering from Palmyra. The left side (fig. 3a) portrays a young sun-god driving a chariot drawn by griffins, and bears a Palmyrian inscription. Fig. 3b shows the front, which represents a bust of the solar god surrounded with an aureole and a gloria, and holding an eagle in his hands, and which bears an inscription in Latin, beginning with the words: “*Soli Sanctissimo Sacrum*...”. Also the other two sides bear images relating to the sun-god, one of which probably that of the *Natalis Solis Invicti* at the winter solstice (fig. 3d).

<sup>(13)</sup> W. FOERSTER, “ἁστήρ, ἄστρον”, *TWNT* I, 501-502; (ἥλιος and σελήνη are missing in *TWNT*!); *LSJ* 769 s.v. ἥλιος II, and 1590 s.v. σελήνη II; F. CUMONT, *Le mysticisme astral dans l'Antiquité* (Bruxelles 1909); id., *Die orientalischen Religionen*; E. CAHEN – F. CUMONT, “*Sol*”, *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines* (éd. Ch. DAREMBERG) (Paris 1911) IV, 1373-1386; id., *Astrology and Religion among the Greeks and Romans* (New York 1960); H. DÖRRIE, “Die Solar-Theologie in der Kaiserlichen Antike”, *Kirchengeschichte als Missionsgeschichte* (eds. H. FROHNESSE–U. W. KNORR) (München 1974) I, 283-292; KEUNE, “*Sol*”, *PW* II/55.901-13; W. GRUNDEL–H. GRUNDEL, “Planeten”, *PW* XX/2.2112-21; K. LATTE, *Römische Religionsgeschichte* (Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft V/4; München 1976) 132-233, 274, 281, 291, 296, 328-329, 349-351; M. P. NILSSON, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion* (Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft V/2/2; München 1988) 486-519, 540; J. C. BRAM, “Moon”, *The Encyclopedia of Religion* (ed. M. ELIADE) (New York 1987) 10.83-90; id., “Sun”, *The Encyclopedia of Religion*, 14.138-140. Interesting is that in the OT too the worship of sun, moon, and stars is forbidden as a pagan practice (Deut 4,19; 17,3; 2 Kgs 23,5; Job 25,5); in the dream of Joseph the sun, moon, and stars are personified (Gen 37,9).

<sup>(14)</sup> F. CUMONT, “*Sol*”, *PW* 1382; KEUNE, “*Sol*”, *PW* 903; J. C. BRAM, “Sun”, *The Encyclopedia of Religion*, 139.

As for Rome it should be added that Nero, who had shed much Christian blood after the burning of Rome and had thus antagonized particularly the Roman Christians, had had a statue erected to himself, which represented him surrounded with the rays of the sun. In this form he ordered his subjects to worship him as sun god. Rising to a height of 35 m., this colossal statue dominated the *domus aurea* and was probably clearly visible to people outside. It was, moreover, the first statue of a human being of flesh and blood which had the dimensions reserved for the images of gods<sup>(15)</sup>.

But is this Greco-Roman interpretation not weakened by the announcement that the stars will be falling from heaven? If indeed the Greco-Roman audience, like the editors of Nestle-Aland, recognised the phrase as a quotation from Isa 34,4, then they also saw the falling of the stars as a cosmic disaster striking the inhabitants of the earth. That representation would, in retroaction, affect the reading of the preceding passage about the sun and the moon and characterize it likewise as a cosmic disaster. But is it really so self-evident that the original audience saw the falling stars as a cosmic event? To start with, it is noteworthy that Mark 13,24 is quite different from the LXX version of Isa 34,4. While Isaiah speaks for example of τὰ ἄστρα, Mark has οἱ ἀστέρες, which more readily evokes the image of personified stars than the neuter ἄστρα. On closer inspection it becomes clear that not even one single term has the same form in the two passages.

Isa 34,4

πάντα τὰ ἄστρα  
πεσεῖται

Mark 13,24

οἱ ἀστέρες  
ἔσονται ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ πίπτοντες

So there is every reason to have a look at another place in Isaiah where similar terms are used. In 14,12-15 a satirical poem on the king of Babylon says, supposedly with an allusion to an unknown astral myth:

How you are fallen from heaven, o Day Star, son of Dawn!  
How you are cut down to the ground, you who laid the nations low!  
You said in your heart: 'I will ascend to heaven;  
above the stars of God I will set my throne on high;  
I will sit on the mount of assembly in the far north;  
I will ascend above the heights of the clouds.  
I will make myself like the Most High'.  
But you are brought down to Sheol, to the depths of the Pit...

<sup>(15)</sup> B. H. WARMINGTON, *Nero, Reality and Legend* (London 1969) 124-126, 129-130; D. L. JONES, *Christianity and the Roman Cult* (ANRW II. 23/2) 1029; M. T. GRIFFIN, *Nero, The End of a Dynasty* (London 1984) 131. It is also clear that Nero himself thought more highly of Helios than of the other gods. He attributed the discovery of the conspiracy against his person to an intervention of Sol, and after the discovery ordered sacrifices to be made in the temple dedicated to Sol (Tacitus, *Ann.* 15.74, quoted by KEUNE, "Sol", 903, and by BRAM, "Sun", 138-139).

Through its opening words, Πῶς ἐξέπεσεν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ὁ Ἑωσφορός ὁ πρῶτ' ἀνατέλλων, this passage may call attention to one of the heavenly figures who as demigods are part of the celestial household. Precisely in the Greco-Roman culture a personified meaning of the fallen stars would be obvious. Plato probably goes further than the prevailing view when, in his very influential *Timaeus*, he calls the stars visible gods (ὁρατοὶ θεοί)<sup>(16)</sup>. In Hellenistic folk religion the stars are important historical and mythological figures and heroes like Hercules, Castor and Pollux, who have received heavenly status and now live forever in the form of a star. An echo of that view is even found in Dan 12,3: "And those who are wise shall shine like the brightness of the firmament; and those who turn many to righteousness, like the stars for ever and ever". So, the understanding of ὁ ἥλιος καὶ ἡ σελήνη as dieties is not weakened but rather confirmed by the passage of the falling stars.

About αἱ δυνάμεις ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς I can be brief because the discussions and opinions concerned are well known. When people in the Greco-Roman world did distinguish δυνάμεις from ἀστέρες, they may have thought of them as planets. And as for the question whether they identified these δυνάμεις with cosmic phenomena rather than demonic powers, I would like to say with W. Grundmann: "Es ist ein müßiger Streit, der darum geführt wird, ob es sich hier um Engelmächte oder um kosmische Mächte handelt ... es gibt keine kosmischen Mächte, die nicht Geistermächte und Engelmächte wären"<sup>(17)</sup>.

All this would mean that for Greco-Roman audiences Mark 13,24-25 referred not only or not primarily to a cosmic catastrophe. It is probable that the Roman audience understood these words of Jesus first of all as announcing the end of the idols of the Greco-Roman pantheon, who like the deities of *Sol* and *Luna* would be made powerless, and the stars equipped with divine power and all the unnamed planetary gods would be thrown off course and flung from heaven. This is a wholly different representation and conception than that of Jewish apocalyptic which in the case of the sun and the moon and the other heavenly bodies thought of a cosmic disaster rather than gods.

#### IV

As a result a Greco-Roman audience may also have had a different impression of the prediction in Mark 13,24-27. To them the events appeared to take place in heaven rather than in the sky. Although it is not said in so many words, before v. 23 all the predicted events happen without exception under the sun, on earth. In v. 24, however, the scene is shifted to heaven. From what has gone before, the audience knows that heaven is the dwelling-place of God. They have heard God's voice come from the torn vault of heaven (1,11) and the intermediate station of a cloud (9,7). And elsewhere in the text heaven is marked as the house of God, directly by the

<sup>(16)</sup> *Tim.* 40 d 4.

<sup>(17)</sup> *TWNT* II, 308 s.v. δύναμαι/δύναμις.

way Jesus calls God “your father in heaven” (11,25), and indirectly by the way he lifts up his eyes to heaven (6,41; 7,34).

What happens in God’s dwelling in 13,24-27 divides into two scenes. The second scene is the more important of the two: the enthronement of the son of man Jesus before the eyes of those present. Who they are is not clear. The plural ὄψονται can be an impersonal plural and may be understood as referring to the inhabitants of the earth. Yet it could also refer to the elect of v. 22, the more so since they are mentioned again in v. 27. But on the basis of the assumption that a Greco-Roman reader thought primarily of deities in vv. 24-25, it is perhaps preferable to recognize in these witnesses the defeated gods who see the enthronement of the son of man take place before their eyes<sup>(18)</sup>.

Against this background the first phase, or the scene preceding the enthronement, could therefore be best characterized as the dethronement of the pagan idols. Probably we should go even further than this. The stars in v. 25 do not just fall, they fall from heaven. This evokes yet another image: The house of heaven will be cleared and thus made ready to serve as the dwelling-place of the son of man. That would be in keeping with the image of God’s kingdom as a dwelling, which sometimes forces itself upon the reader<sup>(19)</sup>. This image plays a part here too. For in this context both the phrase ἐπὶ θύραις (at the very door)(v. 29) and the short parable story about the θυρωρός (door-keeper) who is to wait for the return of the master of the house (v. 34), together with the application of the parable to the audience of Jesus (vv. 35-36) and the readers or hearers of the story (v. 37), evoke the image of the house. In a more general sense this could also explain why there is mention of “entering” and “drinking in the kingdom” (9,47; 10,23-25; 14,25).

## V

After reading ὁ ἥλιος and ἡ σελήνη as names of gods, Roman readers came in v. 31 upon the words ὁ οὐρανός καὶ ἡ γῆ (heaven and earth), of which Jesus says that they will pass away while his words will never pass away. Since ὁ οὐρανός and ἡ γῆ, just like ὁ ἥλιος and ἡ σελήνη, have been locational references as well as names of gods, and at least ὁ οὐρανός still functioned as such at the time of the emperors<sup>(20)</sup>, we may wonder how they were understood by Mark’s Greco-Roman audience. There are several reasons to suppose that the words οὐρανός and γῆ refer to physical entities only. The first reason is that, unlike ὁ ἥλιος καὶ ἡ σελήνη, the

<sup>(18)</sup> C. Myers regards these spectators as a proleptic representation of the Roman and Jewish powers, who, after it has grown dark, watch standing under the cross (15,31-33.39) (*Binding*, 343, 389-391). But the text never says of the temple authorities that they are looking on; and darkness falls only after they have mocked Jesus and have already passed when Jesus dies and the Roman centurion declares what he has seen.

<sup>(19)</sup> D. JUELL, *A Master of Surprise. Mark Interpreted* (Minneapolis 1994) 71-72, 79.

<sup>(20)</sup> LSJ 1273 does mention under III the use of Οὐρανός as a proper name, whereas the proper name of Earth is Γαῖα (LSJ 335).

combination ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ does not constitute a standard expression for a configuration of gods<sup>(21)</sup>. The second reason concerns the fact that the latter pair received far less attention in contemporary philosophy than the sun and the moon, which lay after all at the root of the calendar. The third, and I think the most important, reason is that both ὁ οὐρανός and ἡ γῆ have just before been used in a clearly local sense, namely where it says in v. 27 that the son of man will send out the angels to gather the elect from the four winds, ἀπὸ ἄκρου γῆς ἕως ἄκρου οὐρανοῦ.

## VI

But — and this is my last question — is it not equally possible to cite a clear argument against the interpretation that ὁ ἥλιος and ἡ σελήνη were associated with divinities? As a counterindication against the view that this understanding of Helios and Selene was obvious in the Hellenistic world, the Lukan parallel of Mark 13,24-25, Luke 21,25-26 might be adduced<sup>(22)</sup>. In the version of Luke, which must be attributed to an author probably more deeply rooted in the Hellenistic culture than the author of Mark, ὁ ἥλιος and ἡ σελήνη are difficult if not impossible to understand as referring to divine figures. The passage is concerned not so much with the sun and the moon themselves, as with unusual phenomena visible in the sun, moon and stars which are taken for ominous portents and therefore cause panic on earth. This implies that in Luke ὁ ἥλιος, ἡ σελήνη and οἱ ἀστέραι refer to the material celestial bodies. So, the question is whether this should not be seen as an indication that the author of Luke understood Mark 13,24-25 exclusively as referring to heavenly bodies, and that similarly a Greco-Roman audience did not automatically or primarily associate ὁ ἥλιος and ἡ σελήνη with the two divinities.

On closer inspection it becomes clear, however, that the passage from Luke cannot be cited as a counterindication. It is, after all, either a reproduction of another source than Mark, as has been argued by D. Wenham<sup>(23)</sup>, among others, or the result of a redactional change of Mark 13,24-25 by Luke. In the first case, the text of Luke 21,25-26 says nothing about the question how the author of Luke understood Mark at this point. If, on the other hand, Luke 21,25-26 is to be regarded as a redaction of the text of Mark, then the following two possibilities present themselves. The first is that the author of Luke had no particular reason to change the version of Mark. This would imply that he really did understand it differently from the way suggested in this paper, in which case his version

<sup>(21)</sup> LSJ 347 does not mention the use of γῆ as a proper name, although the words quoted from Homer, *Iliad*, 19, 259 γῆ ... ἥλιος ... ἐρινύες give the impression of being proper names.

<sup>(22)</sup> About Luke 21,25-27 see W. GRUNDMANN, *Das Evangelium nach Lukas* (THKNT 3; Berlin <sup>2</sup>1963) 384-385; I. H. MARSHALL, *The Gospel of Luke* (NIGTC; Exeter 1978) 774-778; R. MADDOX, *The Purpose of Luke-Acts* (FRLANT 126; Göttingen 1982) 121; J. A. FITZMYER, *The Gospel According to Luke X-XXIV* (AB 28A; New York 1985) 1328, 1348-1350.

<sup>(23)</sup> WENHAM, *Rediscovery*, 304-323.

should certainly be regarded as a counterindication. The second possibility is that he used Mark here but redrafted it to express a different view, in which case his version cannot be accepted as a counterindication. The second possibility appears to be the case. Luke is here only interested in what will happen on earth and not in what will go on in heaven. The redaction mainly consists in three changes: a) Luke increases the distance to the preceding phase by adding the fulfillment of the times of the gentiles in v. 24 and omitting ἐν ἐκείναις ταῖς ἡμέραις at the beginning of v. 25; b) he changes “sun, moon and stars” and their disfunctioning into “signs that become visible in sun, moon and stars”; c) he adds the element of panic which the sight of the signs in the heavenly bodies struck into the inhabitants of the earth in v. 25b-26<sup>(24)</sup>. So, the version of Luke cannot be seen as a counterindication of the proposed meaning.

My provisional conclusion is that, unless valid counterindications present themselves, I intend to hold on to the thesis proposed in this short paper, namely, that between 65 and 100 Greco-Roman readers or hearers of Mark 13,24-25 thought primarily of traditional divine figures who played a significant role in the Greco-Roman culture of the time.

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<sup>(24)</sup> Only when this is compared with Mark 13,25-26 does it strike one that in Mark the events happening to the sun, moon and stars are not represented as being observed by humans; nor are they represented as being watched by whoever is the subject of ὄψονταί in v. 26, which would have been possible. They are, on the contrary, represented as if they were objective facts which are announced to take place in the future and whose importance and function is not dependent on whether people observe them or not.



## L'importance de la position d'un mot "accessoire" (à propos de Luc 1,3)

Le prologue du troisième évangile contient une séquence de deux adverbes dont la construction a été l'objet d'une discussion prolongée. Il s'agit du texte que voici:

- (1) ἔδοξε κάμοι παρηκολουθηκóτι ἄνωθεν πᾶσιν ἀκριβῶς καθεξῆς σοι γράψαι (Lc 1,3)

"il m'a semblé bon, à moi aussi, m'étant renseigné (exactement) sur tout ce qui est arrivé depuis le début, d'en écrire pour vous (exactement) le récit suivi".

Il s'agit, bien entendu, des adverbes ἀκριβῶς et καθεξῆς qui peuvent être construits soit avec παρηκολουθηκóτι soit avec γράψαι: "As in the case of the adv. *akribōs*, so too [...] with *kathexēs*, one may ask whether it is used with the ptc. *parēkolouthēkoti* or with the inf. *grapsai*"<sup>(1)</sup>. Commençons par un bref tour d'horizon des positions prises à ce propos.

Tandis que la plupart des commentateurs modernes s'accordent sur ce que καθεξῆς doit être pris avec γράψαι, comme le note Fitzmyer<sup>(2)</sup>, les opinions divergent pour ce qui est de la construction de ἀκριβῶς. Marshall, par exemple, affirme que "ἀκριβῶς [...] should certainly [...] be taken with παρηκολουθηκóτι (and not with γράψαι)"<sup>(3)</sup>. Fitzmyer lui-même est manifestement du même bord<sup>(4)</sup>. Par contre, Rinaldi<sup>(5)</sup> et Mussner<sup>(6)</sup> estiment que ἀκριβῶς doit être construit avec γράψαι.

Il est important de noter que tous les commentateurs précités ne fournissent que des arguments d'ordre *exégétique* en faveur de leur interprétation. Il faut recourir à l'étude de Davies sur la position des adverbes chez Luc pour trouver un argument d'ordre *linguistique*: "It is fairly certain that ἄνωθεν goes with παρηκολουθηκóτι and καθεξῆς with γράψαι. The question is whether ἀκριβῶς modifies the participle or the infinitive. Usage suggests that since adverbs of manner are usually in pre-position, and

<sup>(1)</sup> J. A. FITZMYER, *The Gospel According to Luke (I-IX)* (AB 28; New York 1981) 298; cf. H. J. CADBURY, "Commentary on the Preface of Luke", *The Beginnings of Christianity*, Part I: *The Acts of the Apostles*, Vol. II (ed. F. J. FOAKES JACKSON - K. LAKE) (London 1922) 505: "καθεξῆς like ἀκριβῶς may be amphibolous".

<sup>(2)</sup> FITZMYER, *Luke*, 298.

<sup>(3)</sup> I. H. MARSHALL, *The Gospel of Luke* (NIGTC; Exeter 1978) 43.

<sup>(4)</sup> FITZMYER, *Luke*, 298.

<sup>(5)</sup> G. RINALDI, "Risalendo alle più lontane origini della tradizione", *BeO* 7 (1975) 252.

<sup>(6)</sup> F. MUSSNER, "Καθεξῆς im Lukasprolog", *Jesus und Paulus* (FS Kümmel; [ed. E. E. ELLIS - E. GRÄSSER] Göttingen 1975) 253.

always with the infinitive, it should be taken with γράψαι”<sup>(7)</sup>. En effet, en consultant les statistiques établies par Davies, on constate que, chez Luc, les adverbes de manière sont toujours antéposés par rapport à l’infinitif et il en est de même pour les adverbes de temps<sup>(8)</sup>. Pour ce qui est de la position de l’adverbe vis-à-vis du participe, les statistiques de Davies sont moins univoques. On y apprend que les adverbes de manière sont aussi souvent antéposés par rapport au participe (sans article) que postposés<sup>(9)</sup>. Les adverbes de temps, par contre, sont toujours antéposés vis-à-vis du participe (sans article)<sup>(10)</sup>.

A ce point, il sera utile de se demander si la position de tel ou tel adverbe suffit, seule, à décider sur le bien-fondé d’une interprétation. Tout d’abord il faut constater que le nombre de cas étudiés est plutôt restreint, surtout pour ce qui est des constructions à l’infinitif (sept au total). Par contre, Davies a compté pas moins d’onze cas où l’adverbe de temps est antéposé par rapport au participe (sans article). Sous ce point de vue, il est surprenant d’apprendre qu’il soit assez certain (“fairly certain”) que ἄνωθεν aille avec παρηκολουθηκότι (voir ci-dessus). Ailleurs, Davies remarque qu’il n’a pas tenu compte de ἄνωθεν “because its exact meaning is not certain”<sup>(11)</sup>. Tous les commentateurs précités s’accordent néanmoins sur ce que ἄνωθεν est à considérer comme adverbe de *temps*, comme c’est aussi l’interprétation de Bauer<sup>(12)</sup>. Or, si cette interprétation est correcte (dont je suis assez certain), la postposition de ἄνωθεν serait tout à fait irrégulière!

Il en ressort que la position des adverbes, à elle seule, ne suffira pas à choisir entre telle ou telle interprétation. Dans ce qui suit, je me propose de suivre une autre piste à partir de la position du pronom personnel enclitique (désormais: PPE) σοι, qu’on compte traditionnellement parmi les mots dits “accessoires”<sup>(13)</sup>. A ma connaissance le seul à apprécier l’importance de σοι est Cadbury. Partant de la position de ce mot “accessoire” pour argumenter que καθεξῆς va avec γράψαι, Cadbury note que si καθεξῆς allait avec παρηκολουθηκότι, σοι serait le premier mot du nouveau “colon” (après la proposition participiale), ce qui serait contre nature sinon impossible, étant donné que σοι est enclitique et, par conséquent, dépendant d’un mot précédent pour son support phonologique: “The new colon scarcely begins with the enclitic σοί [*sic*]”<sup>(14)</sup>. Or, s’il est certain que καθεξῆς est à construire avec γράψαι, qu’en est-il de ἀκριβῶς? Avant d’aborder cette question, il est nécessaire de s’arrêter sur la question de la

<sup>(7)</sup> D.P. DAVIES, “The Position of Adverbs in Luke”, *Studies in New Testament Language and Text* (FS Kilpatrick; [ed. J.K. ELLIOTT] Leiden 1976) 115.

<sup>(8)</sup> Ibid., 109-110.

<sup>(9)</sup> Ibid., 110.

<sup>(10)</sup> Ibid., 109.

<sup>(11)</sup> Ibid., 107.

<sup>(12)</sup> W. BAUER, *Griechisch-deutsches Wörterbuch zu den Schriften des Neuen Testaments* (Berlin 1988) 153 s.v.

<sup>(13)</sup> A. MEILLET – J. VENDRYES, *Traité de grammaire comparée des langues classiques* (Paris 1979) 580.

<sup>(14)</sup> CADBURY, “Commentary”, 505.

position des PPEs en grec néo-testamentaire, dont j'ai traité en détail ailleurs<sup>(15)</sup>.

Il est communément admis qu'en grec néo-testamentaire, les PPEs se trouvent normalement postposés par rapport au mot dont ils dépendent syntaxiquement<sup>(16)</sup>. La postposition des PPEs est tellement banale que je me contente de ne citer qu'un seul exemple comprenant un infinitif ainsi qu'un adverbe de manière qu'il convient de comparer avec notre texte (1):

(2) διὸ δέομαι μακροθύμως ἀκοῦσαί μου (Ac 26,3)

"je te prie donc de m'écouter avec patience".

Dans les travaux précités, j'ai étudié les circonstances favorisant l'antéposition des PPEs vis-à-vis des mots régissants qui s'explique comme résultant de la "loi de Wackernagel"<sup>(17)</sup>. Suivant cette "loi", les enclitiques s'attachent volontiers au premier mot de la proposition, même s'ils se trouvent ainsi antéposés par rapport au mot dont ils dépendent syntaxiquement<sup>(18)</sup>. J'ai trouvé que la loi de Wackernagel s'applique régulièrement quand le premier mot de la proposition est emphatisé ou "focalisé"<sup>(19)</sup>. On comparera la position des PPEs dans les exemples suivants:

(3) ἥψατό μου τις (Lc 8,46)

"quelqu'un m'a touché".

(4) τις μου ἥψατο; (Mc 5,31)

"qui m'a touché?"

Dans (3), on retrouve la postposition banale du PPE par rapport au verbe régissant ἥψατο. Dans (4), par contre, le PPE s'est attaché au mot initial, à savoir le pronom interrogatif τις<sup>(20)</sup>. Or il s'est avéré que les PPEs s'attachent volontiers aux interrogatifs qui sont, pour ainsi dire, "emphatiques de nature"<sup>(21)</sup>. Un autre exemple instructif se trouve dans les variantes suivantes, où les PPEs se sont attachés aux pronoms personnels orthotoniques<sup>(22)</sup>:

<sup>(15)</sup> M. JANSE, "La position des pronoms personnels enclitiques en grec néo-testamentaire à la lumière des dialectes néo-helléniques", *La koiné grecque antique I* (ed. C. BRIXHE) (Études anciennes 10; Nancy 1993) 83-121; cf. M. JANSE, *From Discourse to Syntax. The Placement of Enclitic Personal Pronouns in New Testament Greek* (Leiden à paraître).

<sup>(16)</sup> JANSE, "Position", 85, 106, 118.

<sup>(17)</sup> J. WACKERNAGEL, "Über ein Gesetz der indogermanischen Wortstellung", *Indogermanische Forschungen* 1 (1892); cf. M. JANSE, "Wackernagel's Law", *Proceedings of the Fourteenth International Congress of Linguists* (Berlin/GDR, August 10-August 15, 1987) (ed. W. BAHNER - J. SCHILDT - D. VIEHWEGER) (Berlin 1990) 2645-2649; M. JANSE, "The Prosodic Basis of Wackernagel's Law", *Actes du XVI<sup>e</sup> Congrès international des linguistes* (Québec, Université Laval, 9-14 août 1992) (ed. A. CROCHETIÈRE - J. C. BOULANGER - C. OUELLON) (Sainte-Foy 1993) 19-22.

<sup>(18)</sup> JANSE, "Position", 87.

<sup>(19)</sup> JANSE, "Position", 96, 106, 118; "Prosodic Basis", 21.

<sup>(20)</sup> JANSE, "Position", 88-90.

<sup>(21)</sup> JANSE, "Position", 94; "Prosodic Basis", 21.

<sup>(22)</sup> JANSE, "Position", 92-94.

(5a) σύ με ἀπέστειλας καὶ ἡγάπησας αὐτοὺς καθὼς ἐμὲ ἡγάπησας (Jn 17,3)  
 “toi, tu m’as envoyé et tu les as aimés comme tu m’as aimé, moi”.

(5b) σύ με ἀπέστειλας καὶ ἡγάπησα αὐτοὺς καθὼς σύ με ἡγάπησας (D)  
 “toi, tu m’as envoyé et je les ai aimés comme tu m’as aimé, toi”.

On notera en particulier la répétition du pronom personnel orthotonique σύ dans (5b), nécessaire à cause du changement de sujet dans ἡγάπησα (au lieu de ἡγάπησας), ce qui montre encore que les pronoms personnels orthotoniques sont, eux aussi, emphatiques de nature et que, par conséquent, ils occupent ce que Davies appelle la position “emphatique” en tête de la proposition<sup>(23)</sup>.

Il m’a toutefois paru nécessaire d’invoquer la notion *prosodique* de “segment” pour expliquer les cas où la notion *syntactique* de proposition n’intervient pas<sup>(24)</sup>. La notion (linguistique) de segment recouvre en tout ou en partie la notion (rhétorique) de colon évoquée ci-dessus. Une phrase segmentée est caractérisée par ce qu’elle comprend plusieurs segments séparés les uns des autres par une pause virtuelle. La fonction de la segmentation est l’articulation du contenu sémantique de la phrase en focalisant les points principaux dans le développement du topique du discours. Je ne donnerai qu’un seul exemple à l’appui de cette thèse:

(6) Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ χαλκεὺς // πολλὰ μοι κακὰ ἐνεδείξατο (2 Tm 4,14)  
 “Alexandre le forgeron, beaucoup de mal il m’a causé”.

Si l’on considère Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ χαλκεὺς dans (6) comme un syntagme topicalisé disloqué à gauche et constituant un segment séparé, le PPE μοι s’est attaché au premier mot du second segment, à savoir πολλὰ<sup>(25)</sup>. On constate alors que la position de μοι s’explique par la loi de Wackernagel qui est provoquée ici par la présence d’un mot focalisé en tête du segment<sup>(26)</sup>.

On notera que la loi de Wackernagel n’est pas du tout une loi au sens strict du terme. En principe, la présence de l’adverbe μακροθύμως dans (2) aurait pu provoquer l’antéposition du PPE μου. En effet, les manuscrits varient souvent sur ce point, comme le montrent les exemples suivants comprenant un infinitif ainsi qu’un adverbe:

(7a) οὐδεὶς γάρ ἐστιν ὃς [...] δυνήσεται ταχὺ κακολογήσαι με (Mc 9,39)

(7b) οὐδεὶς γάρ ἐστιν ὃς [...] δυνήσεται // ταχύ με κακολογήσαι (W 128 565 872 1542)

“il n’y a personne qui [...] puisse tout de suite après dire du mal de moi”.

<sup>(23)</sup> DAVIES, “Position”, 112; à propos du statut “préférentiel” des interrogatifs et des pronoms personnels orthotoniques cf. JANSE, “Position”, 94.

<sup>(24)</sup> JANSE, “Wackernagel’s Law”, 2648; “Prosodic Basis”, 22; “Position”, 84.

<sup>(25)</sup> On notera l’hyperbate que l’on retrouve dans l’exemple suivant: ταῦτά σοι πάντα δώσω (Mt 4,9).

<sup>(26)</sup> JANSE, “Position”, 84.

(8a) ἐλπίζω δέ // εὐθέως σε ἰδεῖν (3 Jn 14)

(8b) ἐλπίζω δὲ εὐθέως ἰδεῖν σε (ⲕ Ⲡ ⲱ ⲩⲛ)

"j'espère te voir bientôt".

Dans les exemples (7a) et (8b), on retrouve la postposition banale des PPEs par rapport aux infinitifs régissants. Dans les exemples (7b) et (8a), par contre, les PPEs se sont attachés aux adverbes focalisés qui se trouvent ainsi au début du dernier segment.

Retournant au prologue du troisième évangile, on conclura que le PPE σοι s'est attaché au premier mot du dernier segment, conformément à la loi de Wackernagel, provoquée par la focalisation de l'adverbe καθεξῆς. Les adverbes ἀκριβῶς et ἄνωθεν appartiennent donc tous les deux à la proposition participiale. On voit alors l'importance de la position d'un mot dit "accessoire" pour l'interprétation de la phrase concernée: elle marque à la fois (1) la construction des adverbes ἀκριβῶς voire καθεξῆς, (2) la segmentation de la phrase et (3) la focalisation de καθεξῆς.

Ironiquement, Davies, partant de la notion syntaxique de proposition pour déterminer quelles sont les positions "emphatiques" de la phrase, se voit ainsi obligé de conclure que καθεξῆς n'est pas focalisé, parce qu'il ne se trouve pas au début de la proposition<sup>(27)</sup>. J'espère avoir démontré que καθεξῆς se trouve bien en tête de la proposition infinitive qui coïncide ici avec le dernier segment du fragment. L'importance accordée à καθεξῆς (sc. γράψαι), que Bauer traduit par "der Reihe nach"<sup>(28)</sup>, s'explique par le fait qu'elle reprend l'idée conçue en ἀνατάξασθαι (Lc 1,1), que le même Bauer traduit par "(der Reihe nach) wiederholen"<sup>(29)</sup>.

Enfin, le résultat de la segmentation de notre texte peut être rendu comme suit:

(1') ἔδοξε καὶ μοί // παρηκολουθηκότι ἄνωθεν πᾶσιν ἀκριβῶς // καθεξῆς σοι γράψαι (Lc 1,3).

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<sup>(27)</sup> DAVIES, "Position", 112.

<sup>(28)</sup> BAUER, *Wörterbuch*, 788 s.v.

<sup>(29)</sup> BAUER, *Wörterbuch*, 122 s.v.

## 1 Sam 1,15 Again

In a short study published in 1979<sup>(1)</sup> Ahlström attempted to show that a difficult Hebrew idiom with which Hannah described her character, *ʾiššāh qešat rūaḥ*, means “a hard, obstinant [*sic!*] or stubborn woman”. This interpretation, however, has not since met with general, favourable reception. The New Revised Standard Version, for instance, persists with the time-honoured interpretation, “deeply troubled”, ultimately going back to LXX: σκληρὰ ἡμέρα. The only exception is, to my best knowledge, R. W. Klein with “persistent”<sup>(2)</sup>. P. K. McCarter, who also represents the traditional interpretation, “unfortunate”, considers the meaning “hard-spirited, obstinate” inappropriate<sup>(3)</sup>.

In our 1977 study on the status constructus of adjectives we have demonstrated that an adjective in status constructus, despite its morphological agreement with the preceding noun, is often the predicate of the following noun<sup>(4)</sup>. The idiom in our Samuel passage also seems to illustrate this syntax. In other words, what is *qāše* is not Hannah, but her *rūaḥ*. In our just mentioned study we have shown that the syntagm concerned can be transformed in various ways, one such being a causative structure. For instance, *qšē ʾōrep* ‘stiff-necked’ (e.g. Exod 32,9) is found in a causative transform as in 2 Kgs 17,14 *wayyaqšū ʾet ʾorpām*. Although it is true that this particular collocation *qšē rūaḥ* does not occur elsewhere in the biblical text, its causative transform does occur once: Deut 2,30 *hiqšā yhwḥ ʾēlōhēkā ʾet rūḥō* ‘the Lord your God had hardened his (i.e. Sihon’s) spirit’. We fail to see why this general sense, namely firmness of mind, determinedness, is to be considered inappropriate in this context, and the sense of “unfortunate, hard-done” is “here desiderated”<sup>(5)</sup>. It seems to us that Hannah is saying, in effect, I am not minded to follow the worldly sages’ counsel as given

<sup>(1)</sup> G. W. AHLSTRÖM, “1 Sam 1,15”, *Bib* 60 (1979) 254.

<sup>(2)</sup> *1 Samuel* (Waco, TX 1983) 2 and 9, referring to Ahlström’s article. See also A. CAQUOT – PH. DE ROBERT, *Les livres de Samuel* (Genève 1994) 33: “une femme obstinée”. They base their exegesis, however, on related, but not identical collocations in Exod 32,9 (*qšē ʾōrep*); Ezek 2,4 (*qšē pānīm*); 3,7 (*qšē lēb*).

<sup>(3)</sup> P. K. MCCARTER, *1 Samuel* (AB 8; Garden City, NY 1980) 54.

<sup>(4)</sup> T. MURAOKA, “The status constructus of adjectives in Biblical Hebrew”, *VT* 27 (1977) 375-380. We had failed to note that already Qimhi, in his commentary ad loc., had reached basically the same conclusion, for he illustrates the syntax of this collocation in our passage by mentioning examples such as Jer 41,5 *mʿgullēhē zāqān uqrūʾē bʿgādīm* ‘with their beards shaved and their clothes torn’.

<sup>(5)</sup> So S. R. DRIVER, *Notes on the Hebrew Text and the Topography of the Books of Samuel* (Oxford 1913) 14.

in Prov 31,6 *ṭenû šēkār l'ôbēd wēyayin l'mārē nepeš* 'Give strong drink to one who is perishing, and wine to those in bitter distress'. Despite her bitterness and deep mental distress (1 Sam 1,10 *wēhī'mārat nāpeš*), she protests to Eli, she had not taken recourse to such a cure: *yayin wēšēkār lô' šātūtī* (v. 15b), for she was firmly determined to take up the matter with her God.

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## Rethinking Jehu

According to the Hebrew Bible Jehu of Israel rids the kingdom of Israel of the house of Ahab in a bloody coup (2 Kgs 9,1–10,20). Biblical scholarship regularly refers to this chapter in Israel's history as Jehu's destruction of the "House of Omri"<sup>(1)</sup>. Thus, the Black Obelisk of Shalmaneser III, discovered in 1846, creates a problem for it refers to Jehu as the "son of Omri", the very house most scholars claim he destroyed<sup>(2)</sup>. Traditional explanations ignore this discrepancy<sup>(3)</sup>; they try to demonstrate how the person mentioned by the Assyrians is not Jehu<sup>(4)</sup>, or explain the discrepancy as confusion or lack of concern regarding the change in Israel's royal house<sup>(5)</sup>. The Black Obelisk is one of the few historical documents dating to the ninth century and as Cogan and Tadmor noted, "It is not possible that the Assyrian scribes were unaware that Jehu had seized the throne in Samaria"<sup>(6)</sup>.

The significance of the Black Obelisk citation and Shalmaneser III's references to Israel in general must be considered more seriously. They are primary and contemporary historical documents that do not have layers of later writers' biases obscuring their information. The Assyrian evidence

(1) Note the subtitles of the Jehu discussions in many general histories of Israel e.g., J. BRIGHT, "The Fall of the House of Omri", *A History of Israel* (Philadelphia 1975) 243; J. M. MILLER–J. H. HAYES, "Jehu's Coup and the End of the Omrides in Israel", *A History of Ancient Israel and Judah* (Philadelphia 1986) 284. Studies focusing only on the Dynasty of Omri end the discussion with the death of Joram e.g., S. TIMM, *Die Dynastie Omri: Quellen und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte Israels im 9. Jahrhundert vor Christus* (Göttingen 1982).

(2) A. H. LAYARD, *Inscriptions in the Cuneiform Character from Assyrian Monuments* (London 1851) 87. Two texts from this publication will be referred to in this paper. Their designations will be LAYARD, "Black Obelisk" and LAYARD, "Bulls' Inscription" to avoid confusion.

(3) K. D. FRICKE, *Das zweite Buch von den Königen* (Die Botschaft des Alten Testaments; Stuttgart 1972); T. R. HOBBS, *2 Kings* (Word Biblical Commentary 13; Waco 1985); B. LONG, *2 Kings* (FOTL X; Grand Rapids, MI 1991); J. MONTGOMERY, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Books of Kings* (New York 1951); J. SKINNER, *2 Kings Introduction: Revised Version with Notes, Index, and Map* (Edinburgh 1893).

(4) P. K. MCCARTER, "Yaw, son of 'Omri': A Philological Note on Israelite Chronology", *BASOR* 216 (1974) 5–7, A. UNGNAD, "Jaua, mar Humri", *OLZ* 9 (1906) 224–226.

(5) W. THIEL, "Jehu", *Anchor Bible Dictionary*, Vol. 3 (New York 1992) 672. Some note that the Assyrian reference to "son of Omri" is a tribute to the power and reputation of the founder of the previous dynasty e.g., *IDB* III, 281; J. BLENKINSOPP, "Ahab of Israel and Jehoshaphat of Judah: The Syro-Palestinian Corridor in the Ninth Century", *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East* (ed. J. M. SASSON) (New York 1995) 1318.

(6) M. COGAN – H. TADMOR, *II Kings: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (Anchor Bible 11; New York 1988) 106.



combined with peculiarities in the biblical account of the Jehu revolt point to Jehu's relationship to the House of Omri. The Jehu episode as recounted in the Hebrew Bible will be examined first. An analysis of the earliest extant Assyrian references to the political entity of ancient Israel clarifies how references to Jehu's relationship to the House of Omri cannot be considered mistakes or uninformed statements.

### *Jehu in the Bible*

Jehu's patronymic already sets him apart in the Hebrew Bible. In two places the Hebrew text refers to him as "Jehu son of Jehoshaphat son of Nimshi" (2 Kgs 9,2.14). The inclusion of the grandfather's name is unusual, Jehu being the only instance for any Israelite king.

Traditional solutions to the inclusion of Jehu's grandfather's name are reasonable were it not for the Assyrian references. One solution notes that Jehu's father was not as well-known in the community as his grandfather<sup>(7)</sup>. Another possibility is that the Nimshi element is a clan name and that its meaning was lost over the centuries<sup>(8)</sup>. A further option is that Jehu's grandfather's name is included to separate him further from Jehoshaphat of Judah, who was Jehu's contemporary (1 Kgs 22,41).

All these explanations are logical and in keeping with the biblical material as we know it, yet each theory has significant caveats. There is no reference to a person or clan named Nimshi in the biblical text so the suggestion that he was a well-known person or clan is somewhat unfounded. The name Nimshi is found as a personal name in the Samaria ostraca, making it an unlikely clan name<sup>(9)</sup>. Finally, there is no other case of a grandfather's name listed in the patronymic for identification purposes of an Israelite king. As a matter of fact, for other kings of Northern Israel who usurped the throne, such as Zimri and Omri, there are no patronymics at all<sup>(10)</sup>.

Jehu's relationship with the Israelite palace and royalty raises further suspicion about his lineage. From passages such as 2 Kgs 9,20.22.30.31 it is clear that Jehu was no stranger to the king, his guards, the king's mother, or anyone related to the palace. When Jehu is proclaimed king by his troops and rides to the palace, the manner in which he rides and therefore his person is recognized when he is still rather far off from the palace (2 Kgs 9,20). Joram, when riding out to greet Jehu, calls him by name (2 Kgs 9,22). Jehu comments that he rode behind Joram's father Ahab in a battle (2 Kgs 9,25)<sup>(11)</sup>. Even Jezebel's response as soon as Jehu appears, calling

<sup>(7)</sup> SKINNER, *Kings*, 321.

<sup>(8)</sup> J. GRAY, *I & II Kings: A Commentary* (OTL; Philadelphia 1970) 540.

<sup>(9)</sup> A. LEMAIRE, *Inscriptions hébraïques*, Tome 1: *Les Ostraca* (Paris 1977) s56:2.

<sup>(10)</sup> J. KUAN, "Was Omri a Phoenician?", *History and Interpretation: Essays in Honour of John H. Hayes* (eds. M. P. GRAHAM-W. P. BROWN-J. K. KUAN) (Sheffield 1993) 231, notes that Omri and Zimri stand out as the two usurper kings who do not have patronymics. Again, Jehu is the only usurper king for whom are included both his father's and his grandfather's names.

<sup>(11)</sup> HOBBS, *Kings*, 117. Hobbs notes that Jehu's close relationship with Ahab is significant and he uses this information to place Jehu in middle age when he takes the throne.

him a “Zimri”, may indicate that it was easy for him to pull off the coup since he was an insider (2 Kgs 9,31)<sup>(12)</sup>. Clearly Jehu was no stranger to the royal family<sup>(13)</sup>.

Jehu’s familiarity with the royal family has never been an issue for scholarly discussion by virtue of his reputation as a military commander. Yet, the military coup by Jehu as recorded in 2 Kgs includes many elements missing from the accounts of the other military usurpers of the Israelite throne<sup>(14)</sup>. As already mentioned neither Zimri nor Omri has a patronymic. Even their father’s names are not included, yet Jehu’s grandfather’s name is included. Zimru is referred to as a “commander of half the chariots” (1Kgs 16,9) and Omri as the army commander (1 Kgs 16,16), and yet neither one seems to be known to the royal family. As a matter of fact, Zimri does not seem to have been well-known even to the army (1 Kgs 16,15).

Jehu’s seizure of the throne has many parallels with Baasha’s and Zimri’s coups. Both attempt a bloody purge of the ruling families once they are on the throne (Baasha’s coup [1 Kgs 15,29]; and Zimri’s coup [1 Kgs 16,11-12]). But the extent of Jehu’s coup, the destruction of the entire family, the entire “House”, and the destruction of Judah’s heirs to the throne are more extensive than the other cases.

### *The Destruction of the House of Ahab*

Most scholars refer to Jehu’s coup as the destruction of the House of Omri (see note 1). The biblical text never states this explicitly. The text always refers to the event as the destruction of the House of Ahab (2 Kgs 9,8.10.11). Scholars have noted this but explain the inconsistency by discussing the theological motivation of the biblical writer<sup>(15)</sup>.

There is an important theological motivation for why Jehu cannot destroy the entire House of Omri (in addition to the possibility that he is part of it): at this point in history, Judah’s royal house is related to the House of Omri through Athaliah. The biblical text contains two genealogies for her; once she is the daughter of Ahab (2 Kgs 8,18) and later she is the daughter of Omri (2 Kgs 8,26).

Some see Athaliah as the daughter of Omri and sister of Ahab. Thus, the reference to Omri should be taken as the grandfather, similar to the

<sup>(12)</sup> There are some other interpretations for Jezebel’s reference to Zimri and actions surrounding her encounter with Jehu. None of them undermine the fact that her actions toward Jehu indicate her knowledge of who Jehu was and what he was doing. See S. OLYAN, “Jehu as Zimri”, *HTR* 78 (1985) 203-207; S. PARKER, “Jezebel’s reception of Jehu”, *Maarav* 1 (1978) 67-78.

<sup>(13)</sup> Ahlström notes that the eunuchs and court officials feared Jehu and followed his orders, which may also indicate that they knew who he was. G. AHLSTRÖM, “King Jehu-A Prophet’s Mistake”, *Scripture in History and Theology: Essays in Honor of J. Coert Rylaarsdam* (The Pittsburgh Theological Monograph Series 17; Pittsburgh 1977) 56.

<sup>(14)</sup> The usurper kings of Israel with military connections are: Baasha (1 Kgs 15,27-29); Zimri (1 Kgs 16,9); and Omri (1 Kgs 16,16).

<sup>(15)</sup> COGAN – TADMOR, *Kings*, 99; T. ISHIDA, “The House of Ahab”, *IEJ* 25 (1975) 135-137; J.M. MILLER, “The Fall of the House of Ahab”, *VT* 17 (1967) 318-324.

references to Jehu as the son of Nimshi<sup>(16)</sup>. Katzenstein views her as a daughter of Omri who was raised in the court of Ahab<sup>(17)</sup>. Thiele finds it difficult to reconcile her chronological data with that of Ahab if he were her father<sup>(18)</sup>. If she is the daughter of Omri and the sister of Ahab, then the destruction of the House of Ahab by Jehu would not include the House of Judah. If she is the daughter of Ahab, then Athaliah and her children must be eliminated to completely destroy the House of Ahab. Interestingly, Jehu does not kill Athaliah but her son (2 Kgs 9,27). One wonders what her relationship to Jehu was and how sympathetic she might have been to his coup.

### *The Assyrian Material*

The Assyrian material pertaining to Ahab and Jehu dates to the reign of Shalmaneser III (858-824 BCE). The first extant reference to a biblical figure is found in Shalmaneser III's earliest annals preserved on the monolith from Kurkh<sup>(19)</sup>. The text covers Shalmaneser III's accession year and the first six years of his reign. Though undated, it is assumed to have been composed not long after Shalmaneser III's sixth year<sup>(20)</sup>.

Many have assumed that the Kurkh inscription was the work of a provincial scribe, in large part because the inscription contains many errors and no reference to Shalmaneser III's seventh year<sup>(21)</sup>. Regardless of the mistakes, the scribe was certainly knowledgeable of Shalmaneser III's annalistic policies because he incorporated the titulary found in all of Shalmaneser III's annals. The titulary in the Kurkh Monolith was that used throughout Shalmaneser III's reign and is the only section in this inscription that differs substantially from that of his father Assurnasirpal II<sup>(22)</sup>.

The Kurkh Monolith was Shalmaneser III's only inscription to repeat the literary style of his fathers<sup>(23)</sup>. The ferocity and bravery of the Assyrian king as well as the horrible fate that those who stood in the Assyrian king's way would suffer if they did not surrender are some of the motifs Shalmaneser brought into the Kurkh Monolith from his predecessors. So, too, was the difficult trek to many of the places visited. The journeys are

<sup>(16)</sup> COGAN-TADMOR, *Kings*, 98.

<sup>(17)</sup> H. J. KATZENSTEIN, "Who Were the Parents of Athaliah?", *IEJ* 25 (1955) 194-197.

<sup>(18)</sup> E. R. THIELE, *The Mysterious Numbers of the Hebrew Kings* (Grand Rapids 1965).

<sup>(19)</sup> H. C. RAWLINSON, *The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, III (London 1870) 7-8.

<sup>(20)</sup> N. NA'AMAN, "Two Notes on the Monolith Inscription of Shalmaneser III from Kurkh", *TA* 3 (1978) 89-106; H. TADMOR, "Que and Musri", *IEJ* 11 (1961) 144.

<sup>(21)</sup> NA'AMAN, "Two Notes on the Monolith", 89.

<sup>(22)</sup> T. SCHNEIDER, *A New Analysis of the Royal Annals of Shalmaneser III* (Ph.d. Dissertation; University of Pennsylvania 1991) 52-57, 170-174.

<sup>(23)</sup> H. TADMOR, "Assyria and the West: The Ninth Century and Its Aftermath", *Unity and Diversity: Essays in the History, Literature, and Religion of the Ancient Near East* (ed. H. GOEDICKE-J.J.M. ROBERTS) (Baltimore 1975) 36-48.

through "steep mountains which rise perpendicularly toward the sky like the cutting edge of a sword"<sup>(24)</sup>. The various places crossed and approached along the way are also mentioned. The journeys and the fate of the captives found in Shalmaneser III's Kurkh Monolith are described with the same terminology and imagery as those of the previous Assyrian annals. The image of the monarch depicted in these accounts is one of a ferocious warrior campaigning on behalf of his gods to collect booty and spread the fame of Assyria.

To support the image of a ferocious warrior, Assurnasirpal II's inscriptions list the many different cities and rulers he conquered<sup>(25)</sup>. In this context, the fact that Ahab would be mentioned in Shalmaneser III's Kurkh account is not surprising. The kings of the sea coast coalition led by Irhuleni and Adad-idri are listed by name and place<sup>(26)</sup>. This contrasts with Shalmaneser III's later inscriptions which refer to them as the sea coast kings<sup>(27)</sup>. It is also not out of character in this inscription to list the numbers of chariots and soldiers accompanying each coalition member. Filling the text with extravagant numbers and vivid terminology is in keeping with the literary style of the inscription<sup>(28)</sup>.

The exact numbers of the text are probably not to be trusted<sup>(29)</sup>. As already mentioned there are a number of scribal mistakes in the Kurkh Monolith, in particular in the description of the battle of Qarqar. It is possible that the large numbers listed for the battle of Qarqar, especially for Ahab, are to be considered scribal mistakes<sup>(30)</sup>. The debate about whether the numbers or even the ratios are to be trusted can never be solved<sup>(31)</sup>. The numbers might be another example of the exaggeration element which is part of the literary character of the inscription. The author may have inflated the numbers of the inscription to make Shalmaneser III's feat look that much more extraordinary.

The earliest historical reference to a person from the Hebrew Bible is in the Kurkh Monolith<sup>(32)</sup>. Here Ahab is recorded as coming from MAT Sir-

<sup>(24)</sup> RAWLINSON, *The Cuneiform Inscriptions*, i, 19.

<sup>(25)</sup> A. K. GRAYSON, *Assyrian Royal Inscriptions II* (Wiesbaden 1972) 123-145.

<sup>(26)</sup> RAWLINSON, *The Cuneiform Inscriptions*, ii, 91-95.

<sup>(27)</sup> G. CAMERON, "The Annals of Shalmaneser III, King of Assyria", *Sumer* 6 (1950) 6-26; ii, 28; iii, 4.28; F. SAFAR, "A Further Text of Shalmaneser III. From Assur", *Sumer* 7 (1951) 3-21; ii, 19; iii, 2.19; LAYARD, "Black Obelisk", 61,88,91. Note that other groups of kings were grouped together such as: "Kings of the land of Hatti", CAMERON, "Annals", ii, 24; SAFAR, "Annals", ii, 17; iii, 38; iv, 22; LAYARD, "Black Obelisk", 58,61, and the "27 kings of Parsua", LAYARD, "Black Obelisk", 119-120.

<sup>(28)</sup> In the Kurkh Monolith vivid and somewhat gory terminology can be found in verses: 1,16.17.25.34.46.47; ii, 6.12.41-44.49-50.52.64.73.78.98.99 and numbers referring to tribute and plunder: 1,18.19.22.28.35-37.39.41.48; ii, 7.13.22-30.39.40. 61.62.64.65.75.82-87.

<sup>(29)</sup> Note the discussion about the size of Israel's contingent of soldiers and horses, G. AHLSTRÖM, *The History of Ancient Palestine* (Minneapolis 1993) 578.

<sup>(30)</sup> NA'AMAN, "Two Notes on the Monolith", 89-106; TADMOR, "Assyria", 36-48.

<sup>(31)</sup> A. MILLARD, "Large Numbers in the Assyrian Royal Inscriptions", *Ah, Assyria ... Studies in Assyrian History and Ancient Near Eastern Historiography Presented to Hayim Tadmor* (eds. M. COGAN-I. EPH'AL) (Scripta Hierosolymitana 33; Jerusalem 1991) 213-222.

<sup>(32)</sup> LAYARD, "Kurkh Monolith", 91,92.

'i-la-a-a, probably Israel though possibly Jezreel<sup>(33)</sup>. Ahab is listed as the ruler of one of the countries that fought Assyria in Shalmaneser III's sixth regnal year at the battle of Qarqar. There is no evidence to refute the claim of Ahab's presence at the battle nor would it enhance the king's image to include allies as enemies. Since the name and the place coincide well with the biblical material, there is little reason to challenge its historicity. It seems quite clear that Ahab of Israel took part in that battle.

Following the Kurkh Monolith, a shift occurs in Shalmaneser III's annals. This shift focuses on the portrayal of the king in the inscriptions and represents a change in what was considered the role of the Assyrian ruler and the Assyrian state. The difficult journey and the horrors suffered by the captured cities are not recounted in Shalmaneser III's later inscriptions. They are replaced with more campaigns to more places, recited in a matter-of-fact way<sup>(34)</sup>. Shalmaneser III often refers to the number of times difficult geographic features were crossed, such as the Euphrates, and the climbing of the Amanus or Kullar mountains, but the nature of the difficulty and the poetic imagery is almost completely gone.

The focus of Shalmaneser III's later annals is on regular campaigning. How many times a geographic feature was crossed was repeated, not how he arrived at that feature. Shalmaneser III's interest in regionalism and the expansion of the empire is reflected in the lack of interest in the itinerary, a device replaced with the grouping of cities under common geographic reference points such as, "the 12 kings of the sea coast" or "the kings of Hatti" <sup>(35)</sup>. Thus, when there is a reference to the battle of Qarqar in 853 in Shalmaneser III's later annals, the names of the coalition kings are not listed<sup>(36)</sup>. It is not that the Assyrians could not remember who they were but this element of the campaign was no longer the focus of the inscription.

The next references to an Israelite king take on new significance. Shalmaneser III recounts in three inscriptions that he receives tribute from Tyre, Sidon and Jehu, son of Omri<sup>(37)</sup>. This reference raises a number of problems. The most frequent discussion in the scholarly literature is whether it is Jehu, Joram, or even Ahaziah mentioned in Shalmaneser III's inscriptions<sup>(38)</sup>. Most scholars' final analysis is that Jehu is the Israelite king referred to by Shalmaneser III<sup>(39)</sup>.

<sup>(33)</sup> Note that there is some discussion of the role of Jezreel in the royal House of Israel from Omri through Joram. B. D. NAPIER, "The Omrides of Jezreel", *VT* 9 (1959) 366-378.

<sup>(34)</sup> TADMOR, "Assyria", 36.

<sup>(35)</sup> See above note 32.

<sup>(36)</sup> CAMERON, "Annals", ii, 28; LAYARD, "Bulls' Inscription", 71-71; SAFAR, "Annals", ii, 19; LAYARD, "Black Obelisk", 60-61.

<sup>(37)</sup> E. MICHEL, "Die Assur-Texte Salmanassars III. (858-824) [3. Fortsetzung]", *WO* 1/4 (1949) 255-271, 24-26; SAFAR, "Annals", iv: 10-12; J. KINNIE WILSON, "The Kurba'il Statue of Shalmaneser III", *Iraq* 24 (1962) 90-115, 29-30.

<sup>(38)</sup> MCCARTER, "Yaw", 5-8; E. R. THIELE, "An Additional Chronological Note on 'Yaw, Son of' Omri", *BASOR* 222 (1976) 19-23; M. WEIPPERT, "Jau(a) mar Humri-Joram oder Jehu von Israel?", *VT* 28 (1978) 113-118.

<sup>(39)</sup> B. HALPERN, "Yaua, Son of Omri, Yet Again", *BASOR* 265 (1987) 81-85; COGAN – TADMOR, *II Kings*, 106, n. 2.

The Assyrian references to Jehu do not identify him as coming from Israel, as Ahab did, but as the “son/descendant of Omri” (*mār Omri*). The traditional explanation for the use of “son of Omri” has been that the Assyrians refer to a kingdom by the first or most prominent ruler with whom they had contact from that area<sup>(40)</sup>. Since Assurnasirpal II campaigned west, it is quite possible that he came into contact with Omri, the king ruling Israel at that time<sup>(41)</sup>. Thus, so the theory continues, the Assyrians applied the title “house of Omri” (*bīt Omri*) to Israel until its destruction in 720 BCE.

As mentioned above, the first extant Assyrian reference to an Israelite ruler records Ahab as coming from Israel, not as the “son of” (*mār*) nor as from the “house of” (*bīt*) Omri. There is no extant reference to Omri in the Assyrian inscriptions. The first reference to Israel raises the question not of Jehu’s relationship to Omri but of Ahab’s. Thus, the traditional explanation given for the Assyrian reference to Jehu’s relationship to Omri cannot be sustained.

Shalmaneser III’s annalistic accounts of 841 single out Jehu’s name in two of his three annalistic discussions of this year, whereas Jehu’s contemporaries in Sidon and Tyre are not thus identified. Jehu was singled out because he was the new tributary ruler of an area previously hostile to the Assyrians. Again the Hebrew Bible is silent on this issue.

The last reference to Jehu is in the caption beneath the pictorial representation of him on the Black Obelisk, Shalmaneser III’s final royal inscription. In the second row of figures from the top, Jehu is depicted with the accompanying caption, “Tribute of Iaua (Jehu), son of Omri. Silver, gold, a golden bowl, a golden beaker, golden goblets, pitchers of gold, lead, staves for the hand of the king, javelins, I received from him”<sup>(42)</sup>. Elat determines that those depicted as bringing tribute on the Black Obelisk are those places which had never fought Assyria, but paid their tribute immediately<sup>(43)</sup>. Marcus notes that the people depicted on three of Shalmaneser III’s royal monuments are those from the areas that represent the broadest extent of the Assyrian State<sup>(44)</sup>. Thus, for the Assyrians the relevance and importance of Jehu and his kingdom was that it was the most secure limit or border of their fledgling “empire”.

Shalmaneser III records the illegitimate status of vassal rulers in other royal households in a number of his inscriptions. Shalmaneser III notes the change in the ruling house of Damascus in his basalt statue by referring to Hazael as the “son of a nobody” or a usurper<sup>(45)</sup>. According to the Black

<sup>(40)</sup> ISHIDA, “The House of Ahab”, 135-137; T.C. MITCHELL, *Biblical Archaeology: Documents from the British Museum* (Cambridge 1988) 47.

<sup>(41)</sup> GRAYSON, *Assyrian*, § 586.

<sup>(42)</sup> ANET, 281.

<sup>(43)</sup> M. ELAT, “The Campaigns of Shalmaneser against Aram and Israel”, *IEJ* 25 (1975) 25-29.

<sup>(44)</sup> The three monuments she discusses are the Balawat gates, the Throne Base Inscription, and the Black Obelisk, M. MARCUS, “Geography as an Organizing Principle in the Imperial Art of Shalmaneser III”, *Iraq* 49 (1987) 77-90.

<sup>(45)</sup> L. MESSERSCHMIDT, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur historischen Inhalts* (WVDOG 37; Leipzig 1922). 1: 30:26.

Obelisk, in Shalmaneser III's twenty-ninth year, the land of Hatti killed their lord and raised Surri *la bēl kussī* (not of the throne) as their leader<sup>(46)</sup>. Shalmaneser III devoted two campaign years to helping Marduk-zakir-shumi regain his rightful throne from his younger brother Marduk-bel-usate, a *šar hammā'i* (usurper)<sup>(47)</sup>. Shalmaneser III's government was well aware of the status of its enemies and tributaries, and their legitimacy to their thrones. Thus, they must have known a geographically important tribute-bearing vassal's status such as Jehu's.

### Conclusion

The commonly held assumption that the reason for the association of Jehu with Omri, namely that the Assyrians either did not know or did not care about the turnover in the royal house of Israel, can now be refuted. It is clear that Assyria knew who the leader was when Israel was involved with the coalition fighting against Assyria. Shalmaneser III had been actively campaigning, and therefore encountering leaders in the area for eighteen years by the time Jehu is mentioned. During Ahab's reign Israel fought Assyria, under Jehu they paid tribute, a significant policy shift. The Black Obelisk's depiction of Jehu indicates Israel's placement on the farthest edge of Assyrian control reinforcing the importance of Israel in Shalmaneser III's construction of Assyria.

It is time to consider the possibility that there is more to the relationship expressed in Shalmaneser III's reference to Jehu as the son of Omri than an Assyrian misunderstanding of Israelite politics. It is not improbable that Omri had more than one son, nor is it uncommon for one son to resent another's accession to the throne over his own. It is therefore not difficult to believe that Jehu was the descendant of some branch of the Omri clan. The inclusion of his patronymic was known in contrast to most other usurpers to Near Eastern and Israelite thrones. He had an important position in the army and was well known to the royal family. Could this be because he was related to the royal family?

Accepting the idea that Omri had more than one heir and/or descendants explains the Assyrian reference to Jehu as the "son/descendant of Omri". It explains the biblical problems of Jehu's unusual patronymic, why he was a commander and so well known, and why the purge of the House of Ahab, extending to Judah, was so severe. This new way of viewing Jehu answers many questions without contradicting any information provided by the Hebrew or Assyrian texts.

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<sup>(46)</sup> LAYARD, "Black Obelisk", 148-153.

<sup>(47)</sup> CAMERON, "Annals", ii, 41-54; SAFAR, "Annals", ii, 31-44; LAYARD, "Black Obelisk", 73-76.

## Sargon's Campaign against Jerusalem – A Further Note

Isaiah 10,27-32 describes the invasion route followed by an unnamed enemy army approaching Jerusalem from the north. Recently Marvin Sweeney<sup>(1)</sup> has convincingly argued that the passage pertains to the campaign of Sargon II in 720 BCE. The purpose of this note is to define that campaign more precisely.

According to Sweeney, after Sargon had put down the revolt of the Syro-Palestinian coalition led by Yau-bi'di (Ilu-bi'di) of Hamath in which Samaria participated, he advanced toward Jerusalem and through a demonstration of his power intimidated the people and king of Jerusalem (Ahaz or perhaps Hezekiah, depending on how one deals with the chronological problems in 2 Kings)<sup>(2)</sup> to submit and pay tribute. Following this, Sargon dealt with Hanunu of Gaza and his Egyptian supporters.

Although the inscriptions of Sargon do not detail a military campaign against Judah, Sweeney recognized that Sargon describes himself in his Nimrud Inscription<sup>(3)</sup> as

*mu-šak-niš KUR Ia-ú-du šá a-šar-šú ru-ú-qu*  
the subduer of Judah which lies far away.

He also acknowledges the very interesting and striking parallel in the Nimrud Prism:<sup>(4)</sup>

*mu-šak-niš KUR Ma-da-a-a ru-qu-ú-ti*  
the subduer of the distant Medes.

At this point, Sweeney, following Tadmor, alleges that the verb *kanāšu* (here in its Š participle form *mušakniš* "subduer") probably refers to the imposition or collection of tribute and not necessarily to a military conquest<sup>(5)</sup>. He states:

<sup>(1)</sup> M. A. SWEENEY, "Sargon's Threat against Jerusalem in Isaiah 10,27-32", *Bib* 75 (1994) 457-470. See his thorough discussion of other options with appropriate bibliography on pp. 457-463.

<sup>(2)</sup> Sweeney does not attempt to identify the Judahite king.

<sup>(3)</sup> H. WINCKLER, *Die Keilschrifttexte Sargons*. Band I. *Historisch-sachliche Einleitung, Umschrift und Übersetzung, Wörterverzeichnis* (Leipzig 1889) 168, line 8.

<sup>(4)</sup> C. J. GADD, "Inscribed Prisms of Sargon II from Nimrud", *Iraq* 16 (1954) 173-201, esp. 200, line 24.

<sup>(5)</sup> SWEENEY, "Sargon's Threat against Jerusalem", 467-468 and 468, n.41. Cf. H. TADMOR, "The Campaigns of Sargon II of Assur: A Chronological-Historical Study", *JCS* 12 (1958) 22-40, esp. 38, n.146. See also B. BECKING, *The Fall of Samaria: An Historical and Archaeological Study* (SHANE 2; Leiden 1992) 54-55. He states "the š of the verb *kanāšu* 'to make subject' need not refer to a military campaign at all".



The Akkadian term, *mušaknis* (*sic*), 'subduer' a standard causative participle form from *kanasu* (*sic*), is generally used in reference to the imposition of Assyrian authority over a country, but it does not necessarily refer to military conquest ... There is no indication of a battle between Sargon and the Medes. In keeping with Tadmor's understanding of the term, it likely refers to the imposition or collection of tribute<sup>(6)</sup>.

While the verb *kanāšu* does not *always* refer to a military campaign, it very frequently does<sup>(7)</sup>. Contrary to Sweeney's assertion concerning the lack of a battle between Sargon and the Medes, the Najafehabad Stela<sup>(8)</sup> records a detailed campaign against the Medes in 716 BCE. L. D. Levine remarks on this account of the campaign on the stela:

It is with line 46 of the stela that the major departure occurs from the account as we have it in the annals. From line 46 to the end of the narrative of the campaign, some 24 lines, we have a detailed description of a march through Median territory. This entire section in the stela is summarized by a single line in the annals account of the sixth campaign (line 100), and even that line hardly indicates the size of the undertaking<sup>(9)</sup>.

While a good number of the Median cities mentioned in this account seem to have capitulated without struggle, the details of the stela demonstrate that a definite military action against some of the Median cities took place<sup>(10)</sup>. It appears that Sargon's campaign penetrated deep into Median territory at least as far as Urata/us (somewhere in the general vicinity of Najafehabad, perhaps Godin?<sup>(11)</sup>). That there was some type of military action seems evident from the use of the stereotypical trio of verbs — [*a*]-*pul aq-qur ina izi(išātu) GIBĪL(ašrup)* "I razed, I destroyed, I burned" (line 51). These color the narration in no uncertain terms. In this case, it is clear that the phrase found in the Nimrud Prism, *mu-šak-niš KUR Ma-da-a-a ru-qu-ū-ti*, must be interpreted to include some kind of definite military operation against the Medes, and not simply a show of force that resulted in the imposition or collection of tribute. It is important to realize that, prior to 1972, nothing was really known about this campaign against the Medes by Sargon.

Therefore it is impossible just on the basis of the use of the verb *kanāšu* to conclude whether Sargon II had a military campaign against Judah or not. It seems quite possible that some kind of military operation similar to

<sup>(6)</sup> SWEENEY, "Sargon's Threat against Jerusalem", 467-468 and note 41.

<sup>(7)</sup> See the data collected in *CAD* K 147.

<sup>(8)</sup> L. D. LEVINE, *Two Neo-Assyrian Stelae from Iran* (Occasional Paper 23; Toronto: Royal Ontario Museum 1972) 41-45.

<sup>(9)</sup> LEVINE, *Two Neo-Assyrian Stelae*, 29. For the annals passage, see A. FUCHS, *Die Inschriften Sargons II. aus Khorsabad* (Göttingen 1994) 105, 318; and also A. G. LIE, *The Inscriptions of Sargon II, King of Assyria* (Paris 1929) 16-17, line 100f.

<sup>(10)</sup> LEVINE, *Two Neo-Assyrian Stelae*, 41-45.

<sup>(11)</sup> Suggested by LEVINE, *Two Neo-Assyrian Stelae*, 25.

that against Media may have been carried out<sup>(12)</sup>. Perhaps in the future a stela commemorating this action of Sargon will be discovered in the territory of the former KUR *Ia-ú-du* just as it was in the case of his campaign against the Medes.

In conclusion, what I believe can be deduced from the evidence — as Sweeney has so adeptly argued — is that Sargon did march into Judah from the north (as narrated in Isa 10,27-32) in 720 BCE with perhaps some type of military action taking place there so that Sargon was able to continue the vassal relationship of Judah to Assyria that Tiglath-Pileser III had started<sup>(13)</sup>.

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<sup>(12)</sup> G. GALIL, "Judah and Assyria in the Sargonid Period" (Hebrew), *Zion* 57 (1992) 111-133, has argued that the "Azekah inscription" should be attributed to Sargon and is the origin for the phrase *mušakniš laudu*, although he would ascribe Sargon's military operation against Judah to the Yamani affair at Ashdod in 713/712 BCE.

<sup>(13)</sup> For another analysis of the relationship of Judah to Assyria in the Sargonid period, see now N. NA'AMAN, "Ahaz's and Hezekiah's Policy Toward Assyria in the Days of Sargon II and Sennacherib's Early Years" (Hebrew), *Zion* 59 (1994) 5-30.

# RECENSIONES

## Vetus Testamentum

Giovanni DEIANA, *Il giorno dell'espiazione. Il kippur nella tradizione biblica* (Supplementi alla Rivista Biblica 30). Bologna, Edizioni Dehoniane, 1994. 218 p. 16,5 × 24. Lit. 28.000

Questo studio su Lv 16, la festa dell'espiazione, dopo l'Introduzione (15-23), consta di tre capitoli e tre excursus finali. Il cap. I (25-90) è il più lungo e fondamentale. Vuol essere una traduzione accurata di Lv 16, fatta comparando il testo masoretico con Versioni, Targumim ed altri testi antichi. Nel cap. II (91-114) si traducono passi paralleli: Lv 23,26-32; Nm 29,7-11; Es 30,10. Nel cap. III (117-140) si confrontano sinotticamente gli elementi comuni di Lv 16 con Lv 9 e 4; e poi quelli di Lv 23,27-32 con Nm 29,7-11. Gli excursus sono: su capro espiatorio e capro emissario (147-167), sull'identità di Azazel (169-176) e sulla teologia del Kippur (179-186). Ogni tanto si leggono lungo il cammino delle conclusioni: una dopo il cap. II (115-116); una sintesi finale dopo il cap. III (141-145) e una dopo il secondo excursus. L'opera è preceduta da un lungo elenco di abbreviazioni (7-11), contenente anche numerose opere consultate, e conclusa dalla bibliografia (187-197) e dall'indice delle citazioni bibliche (199-209) e degli autori (211-216).

Il pensiero dell'autore, che dà per scontata una storia di differenti redazioni e brani di epoche distinte in Lv 16 senza descriverla con la necessaria critica letteraria, lo riportiamo da una conclusione, messa a p. 176, prima della seconda delle tre ricordate:

«1) Azazel, di cui alla luce del materiale fornitoci da Qumran e specialmente dal *Rotolo del Tempio*, è necessario correggere la grafia tramandataci dal TM ('z'zl) in 'zz'l, potrebbe nascondere un originario culto del dio Azizo, divinità molto diffusa tra le popolazioni arabe del periodo ellenistico e già attestata nell'epigrafia fenicio-punica e persino nei testi di Ebla.

2) Tale divinità è l'ipostasi della stella Venere, il cui culto aveva un duplice aspetto, maschile e femminile, quest'ultimo radicato nella tradizione culturale del popolo ebraico sotto il nome di Astarte.

3) Probabilmente durante il periodo ellenistico venne ripreso sia il culto della stella Venere sotto l'aspetto maschile (Azizo) che quello femminile (al-'Uzzah); mi sembra che il testo del Talmud babilonese citato dia adito a tale deduzione.

4) La reazione all'ellenismo, iniziata già nel corso del III sec. a.C. e culminata con la rivolta dei Maccabei e la successiva purificazione del tempio,

abbia [sic] portato alla demonizzazione di tali divinità pagane; tuttavia, per la loro popolarità, il loro culto non fu totalmente eliminato: Azizo divenne un angelo decaduto e, come Lucifero, contribuirà a formare un aspetto della personalità del diavolo nel cristianesimo».

Qui il cenno ad Ebla potrebbe far pensare che l'A. ipotizzi un'origine molto antica del culto descritto in Lv 16 o per lo meno del nome Azazel. Ma fin dall'inizio del lavoro egli dichiara: «la presenza del nome in Lv 16 suppone che quest'ultimo sia stato composto quando, almeno per la parte del rito relativo al capro emissario, la figura dell'angelo decaduto Azazel era non solo già delineata attraverso il testo del Libro dei vigilanti ma resa popolare, visto che rimane come parte essenziale di un rito in cui il popolo è coinvolto direttamente. Inoltre il modo con cui viene ricordato il nome in Lv 16 suppone trattarsi di un personaggio ben conosciuto nell'ambiente culturale. Di conseguenza bisogna supporre che tale rito sia stato formato quando detto libro era non solo ultimato (III sec. a.C.), ma addirittura largamente diffuso. Ma una parte di Lv 16 (vv. 10b.20-22) in cui si cerca di sostituire il nome Azazel con «deserto» suppone un tentativo di purificazione del rito, che probabilmente è da collocarsi nel periodo immediatamente prima dei Maccabei o durante la rivolta di questi ultimi, quando si cerca di eliminare dal culto del tempio gli elementi sincretistici introdotti dall'influenza ellenistica (IV-III sec. a.C.)...» (50-51).

Dato, e non concesso, che il nome Azazel sia una traccia del sincretismo del culto primitivo e tenendo conto che, nell'ipotesi di D., di sincretismo ce ne doveva essere molto di più in Lv 16, dovremmo dedurne che l'opera di revisione sia stata ben più ampia di quella indicata (vv. 10b.20-22) e che gran parte del capitolo andrebbe datato, quindi, nella prima parte del sec. II.

Segnaliamo alcuni errori: a p. 46 la citazione di Gn 1,7 è sbagliata; a p. 55, l. 11 manca il verbo dopo «il quale»; a p. 71, l. 3 pensiamo che si debba mettere «uccisione» al posto di «espiazione»; a p. 130, l. 9 «i.l.»; a p. 143 nella penultima linea prima della citazione ci vorrebbe «del rotolo» invece che «di Lv 16». Soprattutto manca nell'indice degli autori (197-198) una lunga serie di nomi, a partire da Ventris; quasi una quarantina. Infine, accanto all'indice delle citazioni bibliche, sarebbe stato necessario quello della letteratura intertestamentaria e giudaica, così frequentata dall'A. È vero che alcuni nomi (p.es. Giuseppe Flavio o Giovanni Lido) figurano nell'elenco degli autori moderni, ma i rotoli di Qumran o altra importante letteratura no.

Tutto sommato il lavoro è accurato. In particolare, quanto alla traduzione, saremmo più inclini ad apprezzarne l'accuratezza, se l'A. stesso, nel riproporne alcuni versetti dopo (cap. III), nel confronto sinottico, non ne desse spesso una diversa (si confrontino i vv. di Lv 16 ripetuti alle p. 121-123, 127-128, 130-131 con i corrispondenti dati del cap. I).

A noi però interessa soprattutto la sostanza, cioè le idee sulla composizione, datazione e teologia di Lv 16. Perciò facciamo appello alle ultime voci autorevoli, che difendono un'antichità ben maggiore di Lv 16: ci riferiamo specialmente al Commentario di J. Milgrom, *Leviticus 1-16* (AB 3; New York 1991), citato ma non seguito nel lavoro di D., a B. Janowski, «Aza-

zel-Biblisches Gegenstück zum ägyptischen Seth», *Die hebräische Bibel und ihre zweifache Nachgeschichte* (FS. R. Rendtorff) (Neukirchen-Vluyn 1990) 97-100, non preso in considerazione (D. cita un altro lavoro di Janowski, del 1993, in collaborazione con Wilhelm, ma senza prenderlo troppo sul serio quanto all'antichità delle tradizioni sul capro emissario).

Quanto alla teologia dell'espiazione, D. vi dedica solo il terzo excursus, facendo delle distinzioni che sono discutibili per motivi opposti. La prima circa il significato dell'imposizione delle mani sul capro emissario: per gli uni sarebbe la trasmissione dei peccati e porterebbe alla teoria dell'espiazione vicaria, che implicherebbe la morte sacrificale della vittima offerta; per gli altri indicherebbe la comunione dell'offerente con la vittima e non si baserebbe sulla morte ma solo sul valore espiatorio del sangue dell'animale (182). È davvero una distinzione adeguata? Nel nostro commentario al Levitico (Casale 1982), nel primo dei cinque capitoli finali, dedichiamo alcune pagine alla teologia dell'espiazione sacerdotale, inclusa l'espiazione vicaria (146-149), facendo notare, tra l'altro, che il sacrificio non è espiazione vicaria: col sacrificio si paga di persona. L'espiazione è vicaria quando uno paga per gli altri; è quella del servo di Jahweh e del suo sangue per noi.

L'altra distinzione, tra il TM e i LXX nella traduzione di Lv 17,11-12, circa il sangue che, rispettivamente, espia «mediante la vita» o «al posto dell'anima», non siamo proprio del tutto convinti che solo nel secondo caso «l'offerta della vittima sostituisce quella dell'offerente» (183) e, comunque questi versetti richiedono una discussione più ampia di quella di D., sulla quale, dopo le pagine dedicate nel nostro commentario intendiamo tornare con uno studio specifico, che programmiamo per *Liber Annus*.

Tornando alla questione di fondo del lavoro di D., crediamo opportuno far presente la nostra posizione. Nel nostro commentario al Levitico, a p. 76, sosteniamo che Lv 16 è più unitario di quel che si pensi e ne datiamo la redazione finale al tempo di Esdra, da noi messo all'inizio del sec. IV e non contemporaneo di Neemia, che entra in azione attorno al 450 a.C. Le fasi della formazione di questo documento, la cui forma primitiva (Pg) nasce, per noi, in esilio, le descriviamo in un altro dei capitoli finali, in appendice al commentario (170-174). Ivi manifestiamo delle perplessità su ulteriori ritocchi redazionali. Le perplessità sono dovute ad una datazione dell'Opera Cronistica, molto vicina ai rituali del Lv, che allora ritenevamo piuttosto tardiva (250 a.C.). Ma ora, dopo il commentario alle Cronache di S. Japhet (Londra 1993), che le data attorno al 350, siamo molto più decisi nel sostenere una datazione di Lv 16 e di tutto il sistema sacerdotale dell'espiazione. molto più antica di quella proposta da D. Il nostro commentario e le relative proposte di datazione non hanno avuto molta fortuna. Ma la nostra opinione è incoraggiata da autorevoli opere recenti. Oltre al citato J. Milgrom, segnaliamo ora I. Knohl, *The Sanctuary of Silence. The Priestly Torah and the Holiness School* (Minneapolis 1995). Per essi il Documento sacerdotale è addirittura preesilico e anteriore al Deuteronomio e la legge di Santità (Lv 17-26) è esilica, con redazione finale, tutt'al più al tempo dei Persiani.

Pietro BOVATI–Roland MEYNET, *Le Livre du prophète Amos* (Rhétorique biblique 2). Paris, les Éditions de Cerf. 1994. 443 p. 21 × 27. FF 220

The focus of research into the prophetic books has moved from loose collections of oracles to intentionally unified “compositions”, albeit redacted ones. The extent of this shift is exemplified by the ongoing sessions at the annual North American meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature dedicated to the composition of the books of Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel and the Twelve. The volume under review supports and significantly advances such studies by undertaking a rhetorical analysis of the book of Amos on a number of levels. The authors divide the book of Amos into three main “sections”, identified as A (Amos 1–2), B (3–6) and C (7–9), with Section B being further divided into three sub-sections (3,1–4,13; 5,1–17 and 5,18–6,14). This differs from the two most important recent Amos commentaries. F.I. Andersen and D.N. Freedman (*Amos: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* [AB 24A; New York 1989]) propose a division into chaps. 1–4, 5–6 and 7–9, while S.M. Paul (*Amos: A Commentary on the Book of Amos* [Hermeneia; Minneapolis 1991]) suggests 1–2; 3,1–5,17; 5,18–6,14 and 7–9. However, Bovati and Meynet convincingly demonstrate that Amos 3–6 is a well-organized concentric section, and thus their overall division of the book is to be preferred. They then break each section down into “sequences”, with the first sequence in Section A (the Oracles Against the Nations, henceforth OAN) further divided into sub-sequences comprising three pairs of individual oracles. Each of the sequences (or sub-sequences) is then divided into “passages” (or pericopes), “parts” and “sub-parts”, “pieces” and finally “segments”.

Unless a passage is a very short one, the authors begin their analysis on the level of a passage’s parts, and move upward through successively more complex units. Each part is discussed in terms of four categories. Under the rubric of “Text” the authors consider text-critical matters and explain translational choices. “Composition” treats the rhetorical factors involved within the unit. The “Biblical Context” describes thematic and lexical points of contact with the rest of the Hebrew Bible (it is dropped without explanation for 5,18–6,14; 8,8–14 and 9,8–10) and the final section provides an “Interpretation” on the basis of the preceding three categories. Each part is then discussed in parallel with its counterparts in terms of composition and interpretation (and occasionally the biblical context) at the next level of complexity. In this way the authors deal with how the parts combine to form a passage, passages form sub-sequences and then sequences, sequences form sub-sections and sections, and finally how the three sections form the book as a whole.

Since the same portions of the biblical book are covered more than once at different compositional levels the reader is confronted with quite lengthy treatments of each of the sections. The longest is that of Section B: the 124 page discussion of the section’s various levels is followed by a 52 page treatment of the section as a whole. One would expect a fair amount of repetition, ultimately bogging down in a tedious recitation of details. Yet

contrary to expectations the authors offer new and exciting insights at every level of the discussion. The end result is an extremely detailed treatment of the book of Amos as a compositional whole which calls for great attention on the part of the reader, but such attention is, for the most part, amply rewarded.

Although they do touch upon the historical-critical concerns found in traditional commentaries, the authors intend their work to be a complement to, rather than a replacement for, such work (407). As a result, since the primary focus is on the rhetoric of the book of Amos, their greatest contribution to Amos studies comes during the discussion of "Composition", where lexical, grammatical, semantic and other connections within and between the various levels of the biblical book are considered. At each level the biblical text is reproduced with a number of helpful typographical cues illustrating these connections. These cues include the use of bold, outlining, italics, capitalization, different type-faces, and combinations of the preceding, such as bold italics, bold-faced capitalization, etc. This provides the reader with an invaluable visual point of reference for the detailed discussion of the book's rhetoric.

In addition to individual points of contact with and between units, this category also deals with larger structural elements, not just as ends in themselves but also in terms of how they contribute to the meaning of the unit under discussion. The feature most commonly identified is the chiasm, which the authors find as the organizing feature in each of the three sections, and in almost all of the sequences, as well as at even smaller compositional levels. These concentric patterns focus attention on the central element, which thus provides the key for interpreting the entire pattern. For Bovati and Meynet, such patterns can be formed through lexical or semantic repetition, unique vocabulary or topics, grammatical factors, or even the length of a passage's parts. Their delineation is not always convincing, however, especially when relying primarily on factors other than exact repetition. For instance, the oracle against Judah in 2,4-5 (Sequence A2) is considered the central element of Section A because it is much shorter than both the OAN (A1) and the oracle against Israel (A3) (37-38). Yet A1 is made up of six separate oracles, two of which (against Tyre and Edom) are of the same approximate length as that against Judah. Granted that these six can be linked by virtue of their shared topic (see further below), when taken together they are longer than the oracle against Israel (they are erroneously said to contain 16 verses each [94, n.1]; the actual count is 16 and 11 respectively). The same note acknowledges an imbalance of 65 and 39 "members" respectively). Given the different reasons for the condemnation in the two sequences (the foreign nations are judged for offenses against others while Israel is denounced for sins against their countrymen), in the absence of a rhetorically balanced length the fact that both are longer than the medial one is an insufficient argument for a concentric pattern. Nor is the oracle against Judah "central" from a thematic point of view. It is concerned with disobedience to the law of Yahweh *revealed* in his statutes (2,4). In contrast, in the OAN the nations are denounced for acts of injustice on the basis of natural, rather than

divine, law. These two themes are then combined in the oracle against Israel: the rich are condemned for crimes against their fellow Israelites despite God's revelation in their history and through the prophets (2,9-11). In other words, rather than being the central element which interprets the surrounding sequences (71, 93), it is a building block in an argument culminating in the final sequence. If the Israelites accept that the surrounding nations can be rightfully condemned for injustice in the absence of direct revelation to the contrary, and Judah can be condemned for sins against revelation, then they can not object when they themselves are condemned for injustice despite direct and personal revelation opposing it.

Objections can also be raised against some of the chiasmic proposals at smaller levels. For instance, vv. 2-3 are taken as the centre of 6,1 and 4-7, largely because of the shift of topic. But the connections between the supposed middle and the other two "passages" are weak at best, in contrast to the strong links between the two extremities (see 210-211). Verses 2-3 bear all of the marks of a poorly integrated interpolation. Another example is 8,5-14: v.8 is taken as the centre of a concentric sequence because it is a question between two longer descriptive passages. But on the basis of its content it serves more as an introduction to the divine chastisement and human lamentation of the following verses than as the interpretative centre of the entire sequence.

On the other hand, some of the authors' concentric patterns are not only convincing but also interpretively helpful. For instance, building upon the long-recognized pattern of two short oracles surrounded by four longer ones, they also note that the term "brother" occurs within the OAN only in the two central passages. They thus provide the key to the message of these oracles, namely that war is a crime against human brotherhood. On a larger scale, Section B is delineated into seven sequences focusing on the lamentation over the destruction of Israel in 5,1-17, which itself focuses on the perversion of justice (vv. 7-13). The result is that the central passage of the central sequence of the central section of the book focuses on what is the central theme of the entire book. Moreover, the central sequence is itself surrounded on either side by concentric references to wealth and the cult, the two other main topics in the book of Amos. Bovati and Meynet correctly note how these two issues are echoed elsewhere in the book, but miss an opportunity to emphasize how the very rhetorical structure of this section reflects the content of the book. Just as the religious practices of the Israelite upper class have enabled them to evade the implications of their injustice, so too in this section references to the cult separate references to the rich from the description of the consequences of their injustice. The structure actually illustrates, and therefore reinforces, the content here.

Overall, although not always convinced, this reviewer found himself in agreement with the details of the rhetorical analysis more often than not. Nonetheless, there is some confusion with respect to the final product. In particular, it was not always clear whose rhetoric was being considered. At times the authors speak of "the hand of a single author" (407), at times of Amos the prophet (e.g., 99-100, 248) and at times of a redactor (e.g., 64,



n. 64). Most, including Bovati and Meynet, recognize the final form of the book of Amos as the result of an editorial process. The authors are to be commended for their extended and generally persuasive efforts to show that this process was a deliberate rather than a haphazard one, so that in the final analysis the book constitutes a literary unity. What they fail to do is provide any indication as to where and when this composition came into being, a point which has implications for at least one part of their own work, and by extension for scholarship on the entire Hebrew Bible. In discussing the "biblical context" of the various units the authors frequently refer to biblical books dating from after the temporal setting of Amos. Insofar as this sheds light on terms and themes in Amos within the final compilation of the Hebrew Bible as a whole, it is helpful. But in some instances they speak of "influence" from Amos to other books, such as Amos' visions inspiring Jeremiah (282). However, since these visions are part of a literary composition ultimately attributable to someone later than Amos it is necessary to give some attention to the final work's date before making such assertions. It is possible that any influence moved in the opposite direction, or was even mutual, all of which depends on when the book of Amos (and Jeremiah) received its final literary form. The implications for the interpretation of Amos, not to mention for the composition of the Hebrew Bible as a whole, are obvious.

Despite the reservations expressed above, this book will be essential for further work on the book of Amos. Even when not convinced by every detail, readers will derive great benefit from the attention given to such details.

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Adele BERLIN, *Zephaniah. A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 25A). New York, Doubleday, 1994. XXI-165p. 16 × 24. \$29.00

Il commentario di Adele Berlin segue nella sua impostazione generale lo schema dei commentari della collana di cui fa parte. Dopo alcune pagine indicate con i numeri romani, in cui l'autrice riferisce i commentari ebraici utilizzati e offre due cartine, viene presentata subito la traduzione e la divisione del piccolo libro, poi giustificate nel commentario. La parte introduttiva (9-48) discute le questioni generali tipiche di un commentario. I due problemi che impegnano maggiormente la Berlin sono quelli del testo e dell'autore. Essa sceglie di attenersi al TM, evitando di utilizzare le versioni per correggerlo o per raggiungere un supposto testo originario. La bibliografia precede la seconda parte del libro, che analizza il testo di Sofonia secondo il duplice schema: note e commento. Le note sono ampie. Discutono problemi testuali, linguistici, interpretativi, mentre nel commento si cerca di offrire una comprensione teologica complessiva della sezione presa in esame. Le note hanno una loro originalità e sono certamente la parte più inte-

ressante del commentario. Il commento alcune volte propone soluzioni originali (cf. il commento a 1,2-9 o a 2,5-15), altrove è forse troppo breve (cf. il commento a 1,10-18 o a 3,14-20, di sole 15 righe). Il libro è concluso da un triplice indice, dei soggetti, degli autori e delle citazioni bibliche.

Sulla questione dell'autore e della datazione la Berlin propende per una soluzione che lei stessa chiama di compromesso, in parte accogliendo le conclusioni di E. Ben Zvi, *A Historical-Critical Study of the Book of Zephaniah* (BZAW 198; Berlin 1991), che vede una fase redazionale in tre livelli, da Sofonia al postesilio. Tuttavia ritiene che la domanda sul periodo di composizione sia secondaria per la comprensione del testo. Il problema infatti è capire perché fu scelto quel tempo per collocare le parole di Sofonia (38). Il periodo giosiano fu scelto dall'autore postesilico perché rappresentava «a small golden age... a time of religious and national aspirations under a pious and well-loved monarch» (47). Nel commento comunque la Berlin colloca i diversi oracoli nel periodo di Giosia e non successivamente (vedi ad esempio p.92).

Partendo dalle conclusioni di Ben Zvi sulla redazione ci si aspetterebbe almeno nel commento una evidenziazione dei diversi livelli di composizione. Tuttavia questo non avviene. Non c'è discussione sugli elementi tradizionali e quelli redazionali, neppure là dove la maggior parte degli esegeti considerano l'intervento redazionale determinante per l'interpretazione del libro, come in 3,9-20 o 3,14-20. Gli unici studi specifici su questo problema (G. Langohr, «Le livre de Sophonie et la critique d'authenticité», *ETL* 52 [1967] 1-27; «Rédaction et composition du livre de Sophonie», *Le Muséon* 89 [1976] 51-73, presentazione della sua tesi *Études sur le Livre de Sophonie*) sono citati in bibliografia e mai utilizzati. È vero che la Berlin sottolinea più volte di voler considerare il libro nella sua unità, criticando un certo modo di fare esegesi in cui nella frammentazione dei diversi oracoli si penalizza l'interpretazione letteraria (20-23); tuttavia questo approccio dovrebbe allora evitare di entrare nella discussione delle varie fasi redazionali di Sofonia. Sono totalmente d'accordo con la Berlin che l'esegesi profetica si interessa eccessivamente di ricercare le piccole unità letterarie a scapito del significato globale di un testo. Il significato di un testo non è il frutto solo dell'analisi delle sue parti, ma del suo insieme (22). È ciò che personalmente ho constatato e sostenuto proprio lavorando su Sofonia (A. Spreafico, *Sofonia* [Commentario storico ed esegetico all'Antico e al Nuovo Testamento. AT 38; Genova 1991]). Tuttavia non si può evitare del tutto un simile problema, come non è possibile evitare di fermarsi sul genere letterario delle singole pericopi. Constatato il limite dell'uso esclusivo del metodo storico critico, occorre cercare un approccio al testo biblico in qualche modo sintetico, che cioè tenga conto di vari metodi e dell'apporto che ognuno di essi può dare all'interpretazione di un testo. Anche l'approccio letterario («My approach is literary» [20]) non può essere esclusivo. Bisogna dare atto alla Berlin di avere attirato l'attenzione su un problema irrisolto che agita l'esegesi contemporanea, che si muove da un metodo a un altro senza aver trovato un consenso su strade da tutti percorribili: come arrivare a un'ermeneutica del testo profetico nella sua globalità? Come superare definitivamente l'assunto che il significato di un testo si ha solo dalla conoscenza della sua storia let-

teraria e non da un insieme di elementi, tra cui la sua storia? Per il Pentateuco si sono aperte nuove vie di ricerca, cosa che non è ancora avvenuto in modo chiaro nell'esegesi profetica.

Anche la Berlin si muove all'interno di queste vie nuove in modo talvolta contraddittorio. Mentre sottolinea l'importanza dell'approccio letterario e retorico, il tentativo di fare una lettura retorica è limitato ad alcuni casi isolati. Persino la sezione introduttiva sul linguaggio e lo stile di Sofonia (11-13) è breve e rimanda ad altri studi. Il libro di Sofonia non è solo ricco di immagini (12), ma offre brani di grande poesia con uno sviluppo interno molto ricercato. Vedi ad esempio il grande poema sul giorno di YHWH in 1,7-2,3 con il ripetersi della serie ternaria o l'oracolo di 3,1-5, costruito sulla serie a quattro (cf. Spreafico, *Sofonia*, 47-49, 53). Gli stessi elementi redazionali sono generalmente integrati nella struttura tradizionale.

La Berlin segue nella divisione di Sofonia il codice di Leningrado, affermando tuttavia che queste suddivisioni non indicano unità di composizione (19). Ma nel commentario la Berlin assume queste divisioni come unità di significato. Il caso più evidente di quanto questa suddivisione incida sull'interpretazione riguarda gli oracoli contro le nazioni, che il codice di Leningrado fa iniziare in 2,5 e non in 2,4, come comunemente accettato. Diversi motivi si oppongono alla scelta proposta: 1. L'oracolo precedente si conclude in 2,1-3, testo perfettamente strutturato intorno alla duplice serie ternaria scandita da *bēterem* e da *baqqēšu*, e chiuso da *bēyôm 'ap yhwh*; 2. D'altra parte 2,4 è strettamente collegato a 2,5-7, che riguarda ugualmente la Filistea (la costa, i Cretesi, i Filistei); 3. L'inclusione geografica *'ašq'elôn* (2,4,7) e quella temporale *šohōrayim* (2,4)- *'ereb* (2,7) sottolineano l'unità di 2,4-7; 4. Il *kī* introduttivo può avere valore enfatico e non causale. La difficoltà di arrivare a una divisione coerente e unanimemente accettata non è un motivo sufficiente per sceglierne una, quella masoretica tiberiense, altrettanto problematica ed elaborata non attraverso criteri letterari. Non mi sembra infatti che Sofonia si «muova erraticamente tra messaggi di castigo e di conforto, e tra descrizioni del destino di Israele e delle nazioni» (9-10). È possibile trovare una coerenza all'interno della disposizione degli oracoli, che si muove proprio sull'alternanza tra oracoli su Giuda-Gerusalemme e oracoli sulle nazioni (cf. Spreafico, *Sofonia*, 35-36, 41, 43, 207-208). Anzi questa alternanza è costitutiva del messaggio del libro di Sofonia, dove Israele e i popoli sono accomunati nel giudizio e nella salvezza. È proprio questa alternanza che mi ha portato a concludere che 3,1-5 è strettamente collegato agli oracoli contro le nazioni, sviluppando così una struttura simile a quella di Am 1,3-2,16, dove l'oracolo contro Israele è posto dopo gli oracoli contro le nazioni ma ne è il centro. La distruzione delle nazioni in 2,5-15 non è allora semplicemente la conseguenza di quella di Giuda (117-118).

L'interpretazione complessiva degli oracoli contro le nazioni tuttavia è tra le parti più interessanti e originali del commentario, anche se non scevra da problemi. Il riferimento di Sofonia sarebbe la tavola delle nazioni di Gn 10. Identificando i due Kush di Gn 10,7-11, secondo Sof 2,12 i *kūšim* sarebbero l'Assiria e non l'Egitto. Con Gn 10 Sof 2,5-15 avrebbe in comune anche la menzione di *'ityyē haggōyīm* (Gn 10,5), i figli di Yafet. Cf. anche

la menzione in Gn 10,19 di Sodoma e Gomorra, a cui in Sof 2,9 sono paragonati Ammon e Moab. «Modeling his prophecy on Genesis 10, Zephaniah spoke of Assyria and its vassals bordering on Judah as if they were Canaan (Philistia, Moab, and Ammon) and Cush (Assyria). Both Canaan and Cush are the sons of Ham» (122). Seguendo l'analisi di B. Oded (*ZAW* 98 [1986] 14-32), che vede la tavola delle nazioni composta secondo un principio socio-culturale (i figli di Sem rappresentano i popoli nomadi o seminomadi, mentre quelli di Ham i popoli urbanizzati) Sofonia riprenderebbe lo stesso schema. Infatti nel giudizio sulle nazioni si evidenzia il ritorno delle città a uno stato preurbano. La lotta tra Sem e Ham diventa nel settimo secolo quella tra Israele e i Cananei, cioè i Filistei, Moab, Ammon e l'Assiria a loro imparentata. E ci sono anche i figli di Yafet, le isole delle nazioni (Cimmeri, Medi, Sciti). Gli oracoli contro le nazioni dipingerebbero un mondo in cui i nemici di Israele spariranno o almeno riconosceranno il potere di YHWH (2,11). Questa ipotesi affascinante si scontra con una prima difficoltà: la datazione di Gn 10, in genere considerato un testo P. È strano che il problema non venga minimamente sollevato. Non è escluso che una simile tavola dei popoli fosse già in considerazione prima della redazione sacerdotale del Pentateuco, ma si dovrebbe discutere il problema delle dipendenze letterarie, visto che la Berlin ritiene Sof 2,5-15 collocabile al tempo di Giosia. Si dovrebbero in questo caso ipotizzare tradizioni letterarie esistenti precedentemente. Non meno complicata è l'identificazione di Kush con l'Assiria, operazione del tutto isolata nell'AT. L'apporto del Sal 87,5 è ugualmente problematico, sia perché Kush è senza dubbio l'Etiopia sia perché il salmo è postesilico. Inoltre Sof 2,11, dove appaiono le «isole delle nazioni», è probabilmente un'aggiunta postesilica (cf. Spreafico, *Sofonia*, 23-24). Infine l'idea teologica di Sofonia, il cui ideale sarebbe il ritorno a una cultura preurbana, non è supportata dal resto degli oracoli. Il problema di Sofonia è sì una vita urbana che non funziona. Ma questo riguarda anche Gerusalemme, considerata alla stregua di Ninive, «la città» per eccellenza (2,15//3,1). L'ideale di Sofonia è il costituirsi di una nuova città, in cui ritorni ad essere re YHWH e si ristabilisca l'ordine della giustizia (3,9-17). Sofonia non propugna una cultura antiurbana, ma piuttosto una nuova cultura urbana.

La scelta di attenersi al TM è portata avanti con coerenza per tutto il commentario. Si deve riconoscere che le varianti delle versioni non suppongono generalmente per Sofonia una *Vorlage* diversa da TM (29). Ho mostrato questo in dettaglio nell'introduzione al mio commentario (*Sofonia*, 16-17). Sarebbe stato opportuno fare riferimento almeno in nota allo studio di S. Zandstra, *The Witness of the Vulgate, Peshitta and Septuagint to the Text of Zephaniah* (New York 1966); ciò avrebbe permesso di analizzare alcune varianti per provare la tesi sostenuta. Secondo la Berlin le varianti «should be viewed not as witnesses to a pre-masoretic stage of the "original text", but as witnesses to a pre-masoretic stage of interpretation of a hypothetical text which may or may not be the MT Vorlage» (29). Ad esempio la variante LXX di 1,3aβ, che non è neppure presa in considerazione nel commentario, si poteva leggere e interpretare proprio in questo senso. La traduzione proposta è: «and the stumbling blocks along with the

wicked». La difficoltà di TM, riconosciuta anche dalla Berlin, potrebbe far supporre che la lettura fosse difficile già per i vocalizzatori masoreti. Questo potrebbe rendere possibile la lettura causativa *hammakšilôt*. Ad esempio Gen.Rab. 28,6 cita Sof 1,3, interpretando *kšl* come un causativo, *hēm hik-šilū 'et hārēšā'im* e spiega: «Furono essi (gli animali...) che fecero vacillare il malvagio...». La LXX nella maggior parte dei manoscritti non ha questo testo. Da un'analisi attenta di questa assenza si può dedurre che siamo di fronte a due tradizioni testuali differenti, l'una (LXX) probabilmente più antica dell'altra (TM).

Vorrei fare un'altra annotazione sulla Bibliografia. Essa ha una certa ampiezza. Elenca i commentari recenti più importanti. Da segnalare l'assenza di quello di B. Renaud (*Michée-Sophonie-Nahum* [Paris 1987], il più interessante tra gli ultimi usciti. Gli studi su Sofonia sono in genere riportati. Ci si poteva aspettare forse qualche segnalazione in più ad esempio sullo *yôm Yhwh*, del resto uno dei temi fondamentali di Sofonia, collegato al problema dello sviluppo dell'escatologia. È del tutto assente qualsiasi riferimento alle teorie di Mowinkel, che hanno avuto un peso nell'interpretazione dello *yôm yhwh*. Avrebbero potuto trovare posto anche studi come quelli di L. Cerney (*The Day of Yahweh and Some Relevant Problems* [Praga 1948]), H. P. Müller (*Ursprünge und Strukturen alttestamentlicher Eschatologie* [Berlin 1969]), K. D. Schunck («Strukturlinien in der Entwicklung der Vorstellung vom "Tag Jahwes"», *VT* 14 [1964] 319-330). Inoltre un maggior uso nel commentario degli studi citati in bibliografia lo avrebbe senza dubbio arricchito.

Queste osservazioni non diminuiscono tuttavia il valore del commentario di Berlin. Anzi esse sono state stimulate da problemi che l'autrice ha affrontato o evidenziato, spesso rompendo un modo di fare esegesi poco attento al valore del senso globale del testo biblico. Lo studio della Berlin è uno strumento utile sia di consultazione che di approfondimento per quanti vogliono addentrarsi nei segreti del piccolo libro di Sofonia. I problemi che rimangono aperti sono in parte dovuti all'incertezza con cui l'esegesi si muove alla ricerca di nuove vie di interpretazione. Non tutto quanto viene scritto è condivisibile, ma questo è segno che il commentario della Berlin non è semplice ripetizione di quanto altri hanno già detto.

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Marc GIRARD, *Les psaumes redécouverts. De la structure au sens* (Les psaumes: analyse structurelle et interprétation 2 et 3). Saint-Laurent, Bellarmin, 1994. Vol. 2: 624p. Vol. 3: 564p. 15 × 23. Vol. 2: \$34.95; Vol. 3: \$32.95

Le premier volume de cette trilogie a paru en 1984 et il a été présenté dans *Bib* 67 (1986) 286-287 (J.-N. Aletti). Si d'autres ont beaucoup travaillé dans le même sens, comme N. H. Ridderbos, P. Auffret, R. Meynet ou G. Rava-

si, M. Girard est le premier à avoir commenté tout le psautier selon la méthode structurale (III, 553-554). Depuis la parution du premier volume, il a aussi pu affiner sa méthode. Dans l'ensemble, le lecteur notera surtout deux différences. D'une part, M. G. cherche davantage à dégager le sens des structures qu'il met en relief, d'où le sous-titre de l'ouvrage. D'autre part, la note christologique qui concluait l'analyse de chaque psaume s'est transformée en « relecture » non seulement christologique, mais aussi, selon le cas, historique, symbolique, socio-politique, liturgique, sacramentelle, etc. et elle s'appuie davantage sur les réflexions exégétiques proprement dites. Ces « relectures » ont aussi plus de saveur. L'expérience que M. G. a faite au Brésil et qui est à l'origine de son ouvrage *Les Psaumes, miroir de la vie des pauvres* (Montréal 1993), a certainement contribué à « relever » les plats qu'il nous offre. Par ailleurs, les notes au bas des pages sont réduites au minimum et les volumes sont dépourvus de bibliographies et d'index. Régulièrement, M. G. cherche cependant à montrer en quoi ses analyses se démarquent de celles de ses prédécesseurs, ce qui n'est pas sans intérêt. En outre, à la fin du troisième volume, il résume en quelques pages son intention et les principes de sa méthode (III, 553-561). Ce commentaire, affirme-t-il, devrait convaincre les biblistes qu'il n'est plus possible d'ignorer l'exégèse structurale. Il faudrait que celle-ci précède méthodologiquement toute étude diachronique. Idéalement, l'étude des psaumes devrait comporter trois étapes: (1) étude structurale et synchronique de la composition stylistique; (2) étude, elle aussi synchronique, des structures profondes du psaume (analyse sémiotique); (3) étude diachronique sous toutes ses formes. On notera que cette méthodologie selon laquelle la synchronie doit précéder la diachronie a été proposée, entre temps et dans d'autres domaines, par des auteurs aussi différents que R. Polzin, R. Rendtorff, E. Blum et O. H. Steck. Et dans l'exégèse des psaumes, l'exégèse structurale n'est plus la seule à s'aventurer sur des chemins neufs, s'il faut en croire le programme de K. Seybold-E. Zenger (Hrsg.), *Neue Wege der Psalmen-Forschung* (Herders Biblische Studien 1; Freiburg 1994). Voir aussi les remarques de M. Oeming, « Die Psalmen in Forschung und Verkündigung », *VF* 40 (1995) 28-51. Toujours selon M. G., l'analyse structurale pourrait corriger quelques défauts de l'exégèse historico-critique, comme l'atomisation du texte en couches et rédactions différentes, et les nombreuses corrections du texte massorétique. Du point de vue liturgique, M. G. s'insurge contre le découpage des psaumes. Enfin, il ouvre la porte à d'autres méthodes, entre autres à l'approche canonique (N. Lohfink; cf. E. Zenger, cité plus haut).

Dans l'ensemble, les propositions de M. G. sont remarquables d'équilibre. Une comparaison avec d'autres essais du même genre montre que M. G. travaille avec plus de simplicité, de clarté et de souplesse. Il nous épargne aussi, autant qu'il se peut, les formules algébriques qui sont censées faire apprécier la poésie des textes bibliques et qui sont souvent des casse-têtes inutiles. Tous, bien sûr, ne partagent pas le même enthousiasme pour ce genre d'exégèse. Dans un article récent, K. Seybold manifeste plus que de la réticence (« Psalmen-Kommentare 1972-1994 », *TRu* 60 [1995] 113-130, spéc. 121-123). Il reproche entre autres à M. G. (1) de dire peu de chose sur le sens des psaumes; (2) de discuter à peu près uniquement avec

des partisans de l'exégèse structurelle, sans tenir assez compte des commentaires qui utilisent d'autres méthodes; (3) de ne connaître en fait que deux structures, la structure concentrique et la structure linéaire (structure «en volets»). Seybold s'interroge aussi sur l'utilité des «relectures christologiques». Quelques justifiées que soient ces critiques, il faut ajouter immédiatement qu'elles s'adressent uniquement au premier volume de la série. Les deux volumes présentés ici ont cherché à corriger ces défauts et ils y sont parvenus au delà de ce que le lecteur pouvait espérer. Il n'en reste pas moins vrai que toute méthode a ses limites et que l'analyse structurelle n'épuise pas plus que les autres la richesse du psautier. Pour aborder les questions du «sens», il est parfois nécessaire de sortir des simples questions d'organisation interne pour s'interroger sur la dynamique du psaume. C'est sûrement un des points sensibles de l'exégèse, qu'elle soit structurelle, canonique ou historico-critique. Or, cette dynamique est portée avant tout par les verbes. Par exemple, le Ps 136 comporte certes deux parties, l'une centrée sur la création (vv. 4-9) et l'autre sur l'histoire d'Israël (vv. 10-25); ces deux parties sont encadrées par une «ouverture» (vv. 1-3) et une conclusion (v. 26). Ce diptyque met en relief l'unité entre l'action du Dieu créateur et du Seigneur de l'histoire. Ainsi, c'est le créateur de la «terre» qui, dans sa «loyauté» (*hesed*), donne une «terre» à son peuple. Dieu est à la fois créateur, guerrier et pourvoyeur (410). Tout ceci est très juste et peut aussi être prolongé sans trop de difficultés. Le v. 4, à notre avis, est le «motto» de tout le psaume et, en ce sens, il ne fait pas exactement partie du premier volet du diptyque (vv. 4-9). Les «merveilles» que YHWH accomplit se limitent-elles à la création (vv. 5-9)? Il faut en outre noter que le mot *niplā'ôt* («merveilles»), qui apparaît au v. 4, s'applique surtout aux interventions divines dans l'histoire. Dans plusieurs cas, il s'agit même de l'exode (Ex 3,20; Jg 6,13; Ps 106,7.21.22; Mi 7,15) ou du don de la terre (Jos 3,5); voir J. Conrad, «*pP*, *pælae*», *TWAT* VI, 569-583, spéc. 576-577. N'est-il pas significatif que le Ps 136, qui décrit surtout l'exode et le don de la terre, commence par un hymne au Dieu créateur et caractérise toute son action, dans la création et l'histoire, par le même terme *niplā'ôt*? De plus, comme M. G. l'a bien souligné, certains verbes clés, surtout des participes, sont répétés. Le verbe *šh*, outre le v. 4, apparaît deux fois dans le section qui décrit la création (vv. 5.7). Les verbes *nkh* (*hif*; «frapper») et *ntn* («donner»), apparaissent eux aussi deux fois (vv. 10.17 et 21.25). Ces verbes scandent les diverses parties du psaume. Ainsi, les deux participes du verbe «faire» divisent l'œuvre de la création en deux: d'une part l'univers, avec ses trois «étages», le ciel, la terre et la mer (vv. 5-6); d'autre part, les astres, qui gouvernent le jour et la nuit, c'est-à-dire le temps et l'histoire (vv. 7-9). Cette histoire elle-même est décrite aux vv. 10-25. Les deux verbes «frapper» (v. 10.17) signalent eux aussi le point de départ de deux étapes: l'exode (vv. 10-16) et la conquête (vv. 17-20). Ce développement débouche alors sur le double don de la terre (vv. 21-24) et du «pain» (*lehem*; v. 25). Il n'est peut-être pas indifférent non plus que le psaume commence par la création d'une triade, «ciel, terre, eaux» (vv. 5-6), qu'il reprend ensuite en ordre inverse: Israël traverse la mer des roseaux (vv. 13-14.15), il reçoit une «terre» (v. 21), et le tout se termine par une louange au «Dieu du ciel» (v. 26). Ain-

si, le mouvement des vv. 5-26 a comme point de départ et point d'arrivée le ciel. Tout ceci été en grande partie noté par M. G. (404-405) et il suffit d'exploiter cet ensemble de données pour mettre en relief l'unité de l'action divine. Si YHWH peut fendre la mer et donner la terre, c'est parce qu'il les a d'abord créées. Et le Dieu du ciel du v. 26 est aussi le Dieu de l'histoire, puisque la création du temps correspond à la création des astres fixés dans le ciel (vv. 7-8). Les trois verbes cités sont en fait les trois titres de Dieu, selon M. G.: créateur (*'sh*), guerrier (*nkh, hif.*) et pourvoyeur (*ntn*) (410). Enfin, le v. 25 pourrait bien être une clé du psaume. Une comparaison entre le Ps 136 et un texte assez semblable, Dt 26,5-10 montrerait que le récit des interventions divines dans l'histoire pouvait avoir une intention liturgique et pédagogique. Dt 26 contient un « petit credo » d'Israël récité lors de l'offrande des prémices et dont le but est de rappeler à Israël que chaque récolte est le fruit d'un don et d'une histoire. Le Ps 136 ne veut-il pas lui aussi rappeler que toute « nourriture » (v. 26) est avant tout le fruit d'une histoire qui remonte de la conquête à l'exode, et de l'exode jusqu'à la création? Sur ce point, voir P. Beauchamp, *Psaumes de jour et de nuit* (Paris 1980) 190-198. Il serait aussi possible de prolonger l'étude par une enquête historico-critique sur le contexte culturel et théologique du Ps 136, ce qui permettrait sans doute de l'appliquer à d'autres contextes.

Ces quelques remarques montrent certes qu'une comparaison avec d'autres textes bibliques et une étude sémantique de quelques termes peuvent donner un certain « corps » aux analyses structurales proposées par ce commentaire qui, par ailleurs, pouvait difficilement s'allonger davantage. Elles montrent aussi que les analyses de M. G. fournissent un matériau de premier choix à l'exégète des psaumes. En effet, ces idées nous sont venues d'abord et avant tout à partir des données fournies par M. G. et, même si nous ne l'avons pas assez souligné, il s'agit d'un immense mérite.

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### Novum Testamentum

Antonio PITTA, *Sinossi paolina* (Universo teologia 31). Cinisello Balsamo, Edizioni San Paolo, 1994. 318 p. 30 × 22. Lit. 35.000

Siendo esta obra un libro bastante original, vale la pena detenerse brevemente en su descripción. Como dice el mismo título se trata de una sinopsis de todas las cartas del « corpus paulinum » en un máximo de 13 columnas y un mínimo de una. Pero el subtítulo, *le lettere di san Paolo in una nuova traduzione ordinate per temi*, indica que no se sigue el orden estricto de los escritos, sino hay una cierta elaboración del autor en la disposición. Éste distribuye en 24 secciones los párrafos que estima paralelos y, por tanto, susceptibles de presentación en sinopsis. Tales secciones responden a temas seleccionados por P. siguiendo básicamente, según dice en la introducción ge-



neral (10-11), la argumentación paulina; es decir, divide los párrafos de las cartas conforme a sus géneros literarios, argumentativos y epistolares, dando como primer resultado cinco grandes apartados (epistolografía, fuentes, géneros argumentativos, metaforología y narrativa). Pero las subdivisiones de cada uno de ellos hasta llegar a las 24 secciones mencionadas ya no pueden hacerse con la misma norma y P. se ve obligado a introducir en alguna medida ciertos criterios de otro tipo, más bien temáticos, aunque pretenda conscientemente no utilizar puntos de referencia teológicos como la cristología o eclesiología paulina, porque son puntos que pervaden transversalmente todas las cartas y se encuentran por todas ellas. Así en unas ocasiones los párrafos son más formales, vg. exordios o postdatas de las cartas, himnos, catálogos de vicios y virtudes, dichos, parátesis conclusivas... y en otras se basan en los contenidos, vg. autobiografía, opositores, escatología, maternidad y paternidad paulinas, colecta... Hay también, por poner algunos ejemplos, «pre-escritos epistolares», «acciones de gracias y exordios», «autobiografía», «opositores de Pablo», «citas directa del AT», «argumentación midrásica», «diatribica», «dichos de Jesús y dichos populares», «protología y escatología paulina», «himnología y doxología», «tema agonístico», «tema de edificio», «de la naturaleza», «tema cultural» etc. Puede apreciarse que son opciones de agrupación del material un tanto discutibles, aunque razonables y razonadas. Estos criterios, evidentemente, están confeccionados por el autor, tal como queda dicho y ello hace que, cuando se quiere buscar un texto concreto primero haya que identificar a cuál de las 24 secciones puede pertenecer. En algunos casos es muy claro el orientarse, pero en otros no resulta tan evidente, como el mismo autor reconoce (11). Por ejemplo, ¿dónde buscar los párrafos paulinos acerca de puntos tan importantes como la ley, la justificación o el espíritu? La solución que ofrece P. diciendo que un «prospetto sinnottico» bastará para superar esa dificultad no es todo lo útil que uno desearía. En ese sentido se hubiera agradecido que la obra estuviese dotada de uno o varios índices de citas y materias que facilitasen el uso práctico, que es una de las finalidades más importantes de un libro con estas características.

En la misma introducción Pitta expone las diferencias entre su obra y algunos intentos anteriores llevados a cabo en una línea parecida (Heyder, Francis-Sampley sobre todo también Pierini-Berardi y von Allmen). Una de las más importantes es haber excluido Hebreos de la presente sinopsis por su reconocida no autenticidad y consiguiente falta de paralelismo con el epistolario paulino. Justifica, en cambio, la inclusión de las deuteropaulinas (Col, Ef, 2 Te y Pastorales), por sus conexiones con las cartas auténticas de Pablo, aunque ello no presuponga una opción a favor de su autenticidad.

Otro punto importante es la misma presentación tipográfica de los textos en paralelo allí donde se percibe a juicio del autor. Era algo que las obras anteriores no habían realizado tan exhaustivamente.

Los razonamientos del autor convencer de estas opciones y el usuario del libro agradece poder ojear a la vez todos los escritos del «corpus paulinum».

El autor es consciente de las posibles limitaciones de su libro y habla de él como una propuesta perfeccionable. Del mismo modo explica por qué no

se ha hecho la sinopsis sobre el texto griego, supliendo esta carencia con una traducción más literal y atenta a los paralelos respectivos (11). Realmente este modo de proceder abre la utilización de la sinopsis a un público más amplio, aunque algunos hubieran preferido el original.

En cuanto a observaciones generales, para confeccionar las secciones mencionadas P. ha utilizado adecuadamente las más recientes metodologías de exégesis, que parece conocer bien. Así el análisis retórico (36, 49, 69, 118-119), el sociológico (48), el derásico (99-101), con indicación de la bibliografía respectiva. ¡Esta familiaridad es absolutamente natural en un autor que es profesor de Metodología Bíblica en el Instituto Bíblico!

Previamente a cada sección hace también una breve introducción, que razona los párrafos presentados en ella y además sirve para que el lector repase algunos de los puntos de teología paulina. Pero ello tiene el peligro de proponer determinados temas, más bien de contenido teológico, bajo la capa de una presentación meramente formal. Así (207-208), hablando de los códigos domésticos pertenecientes a la ética paulina, que presenta a continuación, discute el tema del matiz escatológico de esta ética. P. afirma que en las Grandes Cartas no hay códigos domésticos, lo cual es básicamente cierto, y que, en cambio, en Col y Ef y en las Pastorales sí. Ello no se debería a una «desescatologización» en la vida de las comunidades, sino precisamente al principio del «estar en Cristo», fundamento de toda la ética paulina comprendido escatológicamente. No es que yo esté en desacuerdo con esa forma de ver las cosas; simplemente creo que estas consideraciones exegéticas deben quedar fuera de la presentación sinóptica de los textos. Son conclusiones que habría de sacar quien los lee.

Cabría decir también algo sobre las secciones que P. propone: como ya he indicado, son aceptables, pero división de los temas éticos en cuatro partes, a saber, códigos domésticos, eclesiales, paráclisis conclusivas y catálogos de vicios y virtudes, no es tan evidente. De la misma forma que bajo el epígrafe «somatología paulina» entran puntos tan diferentes como las relaciones entre marido y mujer, el «yo» en conflicto, la eclesiología y la moral, dado que todos ellos coinciden en la terminología relativa al «soma», ¿no hubieran podido encontrarse otros criterios para dividir más o unir los temas éticos? Ciertamente reconozco que no es empresa sencilla, pero es algo en que en se puede pensar.

La traducción — sin ser tan experto en italiano — me parece aceptable y útil precisamente para quien no puede acceder directa y fácilmente al original griego. Como es natural habrá puntos opinables, pero esa es la cruz de toda traducción. En nuestro caso, el ser más bien literal se legitima por el carácter del libro que es más bien de estudio y consulta y no de simple lectura.

Viniendo a puntos concretos, bajo el epígrafe de los dichos de Jesús (128-131) se presentan algunos indiscutibles, como el «Abba» o la institución de la Eucaristía, pero también aparecen otros lugares en que, quizás, se haga alusión a palabras de Jesús que posteriormente aparecen en los evangelios (el ladrón de 1 Te 5,2, la levadura de 1 Cor 5,6 y Ga 5,9, la fe que mueve montañas en 1 Cor 13,2) pero que también podrían ser dichos populares de carácter más general. No estoy en contra de la colocación de los

textos en esta sección, pero se percibe alguna diferencia entre los dichos que con toda claridad se remontan a Jesús y esos otros que son menos evidentes. Puesto que P. hace bastantes subdivisiones dentro de cada sección, quizás no hubiera estado fuera de lugar hacer una en este punto.

Más discutible me resulta el «motivo cultural» (180-185). En primer lugar, hay que reconocer que, en términos puramente formales y como aparece de la misma sinopsis, hay algún texto paulino que menciona temas sacrificales o culturales (1 Cor 5,6-8; Ro 3,25-26), pero son bien escasos y, como el mismo autor reconoce (180), no demasiado significativos en la cristología paulina. Contrasta con ese reconocimiento la afirmación (181) de que «il linguaggio culturale di Paolo rappresenta la principale porta d'ingresso per la sua elevata e matura teologia». Una buena parte de los exegetas de Pablo actuales no estarían del todo de acuerdo con ella, especialmente si se entiende lo cultural, como es más que probable, en estrecha conexión con las concepciones sacrificales acerca de la muerte de Cristo altamente discutibles o, por lo menos, que necesitan muchas matizaciones. Entramos, además, de este modo en temas controvertidos, sobre todo entre las diversas confesiones cristianas. Quizás hubiera sido mejor, en este libro, evitar las posibles discusiones que distraen de la finalidad principal y dejar abiertas las interpretaciones, no decantándose por una opción determinada que ni siquiera para los católicos es aceptada sin más (cf. F. Pastor-Ramos, *La salvación del hombre en la muerte y resurrección de Cristo. Ensayo de teología paulina* [Estella 1991] 68-74). Este es uno de los casos en que ocurre lo mencionado más arriba, es decir, que a propósito de divisiones formales se introducen interpretaciones de contenido.

Se presentan, además, dos textos (2 Cor 5,20-21 y Ga 5,9) en que el motivo cultural ya no es tan claro. En particular, refiriéndonos al primero de ellos, parece menos verosímil que el «*hamartia*» de 2 Cor 5,21 signifique «sacrificio por el pecado»; el mismo P. reconoce (181, nota 4) que no todos los intérpretes aceptan ese significado. Efectivamente el significado de esa frase admite mejor otros sentidos en la línea de la total participación de Cristo en la condición humana pecadora del hombre (cf. M. Thrall, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Second Epistle to the Corinthians I* [ICC; Edinburgh 1994] 439-442; Pastor-Ramos, *Salvación*, 49, 114; R. Bieringer-J. Lambrecht, *Studies on 2 Corinthians* [Leuven 1994] 473-494).

Otra observación de menor importancia, que raya casi en lo anecdótico: me pregunto si valía la pena elaborar una sección sobre el motivo de la naturaleza (174-179), tratando las escasas alusiones paulinas a la agricultura. No son textos demasiado técnicos, sino de carácter metafórico general. Y en los dos lugares, 1 Cor 15,35-44 y, sobre todo, Ro 11,16-24, en que Pablo se extiende algo en la terminología agrícola, es bastante patente su impericia a este respecto. Con más razones podría pensarse en criterios de vida ciudadana, como juicios o mercados y bancos (recuérdese, por ejemplo, el matiz financiero del *logidsein* de Ga 3,6; Ro 4,3.4.6.8.9.10), de la misma manera que P. hace respecto a los deportes. Son campos más propios de un urbanita como Pablo. Tendría además la ventaja de ofrecer un puesto específico a la temática de la justificación y otras igualmente importantes.

Estas observaciones, con todo, no pretenden disminuir el valor de la obra y las ofrezco como materia para posibles perfeccionamientos a juicio del autor. Mi opinión global es que Pitta ha producido un instrumento de trabajo valioso y accesible a gran número de personas, que pueden usarlo útilmente. Es un intento nuevo, en cuanto yo puedo conocer, que resultará válido también para los estudiosos de la obra paulina. Naturalmente habrá quien ponga en duda la validez de dicho intento, pero, en mi opinión, era algo digno de probarse. El tiempo dirá si ello es acertado.

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Duane LITFIN, *St. Paul's Theology of Proclamation: 1 Corinthians 1-4 and Greco-Roman Rhetoric* (SNTSMS 79). Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1994.

Duane Litfin, President of Wheaton College (USA), is uniquely qualified to write this remarkable, cross-disciplinary study. He holds doctorates in both rhetoric (Purdue) and New Testament (Oxford), the latter being awarded for an earlier version of this work (1983).

In his introductory chapter Litfin rightly claims that only once we know the presuppositions underlying Paul's preaching can we understand its practice. Pivotal is 1 Corinthians 1-4, particularly 1,17-2,5, which is the only portion of Paul's letters where he reveals his preaching *modus operandi*. To understand this passage both the Corinthians' and Paul's understanding of σοφία λόγου must be grasped, not in terms of theology or philosophy as is currently common, but in terms of the Greco-Roman rhetorical-philosophical tradition as was once prevalent. Paul defends himself against criticism that his preaching does not conform to the standards of rhetorical culture.

In Part I Litfin explores the Isocratean-Aristotelian tradition of classical rhetoric which was the primary rhetorical heritage of Paul's Corinth. He does so in great detail (19-134) in order to demonstrate the important role rhetorical tradition played in Greco-Roman culture, and as a consequence provides one of the most illuminating discussions of classical rhetoric in print. In chapters 2 and 3 he traces Greek rhetoric from the beginnings of systematic study in Athens in the fifth century BC to the Hellenistic period, concentrating on the sophists, Plato, Isocrates, and Aristotle. He focuses on their common utilitarian, audience-centered approach with its concern for what the audience found probable, emphasis upon persuading the audience, and conviction of the power of the spoken word. He also demonstrates the close relationship between σοφία, λόγος, and δύναμις in Greek culture: wisdom being demonstrated by the use of effective words, and wise words being power.

Roman rhetoric is the subject of chapters 4 and 5. By the close of the fourth century BC the core of rhetoric was largely settled and only elaboration, refinement, or systematization occurred during the remaining

Greco-Roman period. This was the rhetoric revived in Rome in the first century BC and manifested in Paul's era, with its audience-centered approach and affirmation of the interrelation of form, content, and power. Litfin focuses his discussion on Cicero and Quintilian, showing that the goal of rhetoric was to adapt to the audience in order to persuade it through all necessary means, making the audience the judge of the orator and the bestower of reward and status. Although in the first century AD persuasion was still the goal of rhetoric, decorative or secondary rhetoric (e.g., declamation) rather than functional or primary rhetoric was prominent. Form dominated content; pleasing usurped persuading an audience. Eloquence and wisdom remained closely associated, the former indicating and adorning the latter.

In Part II Litfin explains Paul's argument in 1 Corinthians 1–4 in light of the Greco-Roman rhetorical tradition. He does not look for rhetorical patterns with which to interpret the text, but uses the approach of the philosophy of rhetoric to determine the presuppositions underlying Paul's description of his preaching in order to understand its practice. The impact of rhetorical tradition upon Paul and the Corinthians is the subject of chapter 6. Litfin assumes that Paul possessed a "limited understanding of the broad stance of Greco-Roman rhetoric" (137) gained from his Hellenistic environment, perhaps through rhetoric as assimilated in Pharisaism. The Corinthians shared their world's enthusiasm for rhetoric, their role as audiences and judges, and their ability to bestow status upon orators or withhold it. In chapter 7 Litfin shows that the concerns of 1 Corinthians 1–4, particularly the Corinthians' largely negative judgment of the form of Paul's preaching, are echoed throughout the Corinthian Correspondence.

Paul's preaching in Corinth as a background for 1 Corinthians 1–4 is the subject of chapter 8. Litfin argues that when Paul preached the gospel in Corinth many genuinely believed in spite of their negative judgment of his rhetorical prowess. In his absence this negative judgment, compounded by the arrival of the more eloquent Apollos, and the quest for wisdom and eloquence led many to champion Apollos as the leader or "sophist" offering them the most status. Litfin's understanding of the situation of 1 Corinthians 1–4 creates a welcomed paradigm shift in interpretation. Wisdom and power have been recently understood in relationship to mystery religions, gnosticism, or Jewish-Hellenistic philosophy exemplified by Philo, and Paul has been pictured as opposing doctrinal differences based on an over-realized eschatology (cf. 4,8). However, Paul is really confronting the Corinthians' pursuit of status through identification with what is wise, powerful, and honorable in society as judged by cultural and rhetorical traditions. Paul demonstrates that to be foolish, weak, and without honor in the eyes of the world (e.g., his preaching) is what it means to be Christian. He does so, not to confront theological differences, but to defend his *modus operandi* as a preacher.

An analysis of the central passage of 1,10–2,5 comprises chapter 9. The problem is not theological, but a divisiveness based on a worldly rhetorical assessment and alignment with speakers. As indicated by Paul's singular defense, there were really only two groups in Corinth: those aligned with

Paul and those who were not (Apollos, Cephas, and Christ parties). The latter group measured Paul's preaching by Greco-Roman rhetorical standards and found it wanting of the powerful λόγος (form) indicative of σοφία (content). Paul argues that the form and content of his preaching was οὐκ ἐν σοφίᾳ λόγου (1,17), but a heralding of God's message, the ὁ λόγος ὁ τοῦ σταυροῦ (1,18). He did not preach according to rhetorical convention lest his audiences' faith be founded in human wisdom and his ability as an orator to persuade and engender belief, rather than the power of God in the cross of Christ and the conviction of the Holy Spirit. To cast the word of the cross ἐν σοφίᾳ λόγου would rob it of its true power. Paul's preaching is based on the theological premise that in God's wisdom God works through what the world finds weak and foolish (including Paul's word of the cross) so that there is no question that God accomplishes God's purpose.

In chapter 10 Litfin examines 2,6-4,21 to highlight aspects which gain deeper or different meaning in light of the investigation of 1,10-2,5. Paul emphasizes that the spiritually mature perceive his proclamation of the gospel as the σοφία θεοῦ (2,7). By this he does not distinguish the gospel from a deeper wisdom imparted to the spiritually mature, as some interpreters assume, but refers to a single message which is perceived differently depending upon the spiritual maturity of his hearers. The unspiritual and worldly-minded Christians perceive his proclamation as foolishness, as unlike worldly wisdom of the sophists, orators, and philosophers. In response Paul affirms that they need to understand that both the form (heralding) and content (the cross) of his preaching are divinely ordained.

In Chapter 11 Litfin summarizes his thesis and outlines its exegetical implications. He leaves the reader with two questions for further research which he partially answers. To the first question, "What were the origins of Paul's view of preaching?", he answers the Old Testament messengers and the preaching of Jesus. To the second question, "How does Paul's view of preaching correlate with his practice?", he answers that Paul did not use rhetorical skills to induce his listeners to yield to his message for fear of substituting human power for the power of the cross and usurping the role of the Holy Spirit in persuading the audience to yield.

This last answer leaves the question, "If Paul's epistles have rhetorical elements (the extent of which being debated) and were meant to be read to a congregation as a means of persuasion, why not assume that his preaching did as well?" Litfin anticipates this and rightly points out that we cannot assume that Paul's oral and written style were identical. More importantly he makes the distinction that whereas Greco-Roman rhetoric emphasized persuading the audience to yield, Pauline proclamation emphasized helping the audience comprehend the message (the step before yielding). While Paul does accommodate himself to his audiences (1 Cor 3,1-2; 9,19-23) and uses some rhetorical techniques, he stresses a different part of the persuasive process in order to avoid techniques which he considered would inappropriately induce the audience to yield and bypass the Holy Spirit.

Litfin's distinction here and elsewhere between proclaiming the gospel and using rhetoric to persuade could be more convincing. Certainly proclamation of the gospel was made with some rhetorical finesse and with some desire to persuade. A speculative discussion of the elements of rhetorical culture that Paul accepted and utilized in preaching to promote comprehension of the message versus those he refused to utilize as inappropriately inducing belief would be helpful in clarifying this distinction.

This suggestion aside, Litfin's work is a breakthrough. Many of the difficulties of interpreting 1 Corinthians 1-4 and defining its role in the entire letter melt away when Paul's preaching is understood in its rhetorical and philosophical context. Litfin provides a welcomed paradigm shift by understanding σοφία in terms of the Greco-Roman cultural tradition rather than mystery religions, gnosticism, or Jewish-Hellenistic philosophy. He persuasively argues that Paul's problems with the Corinthians were not theological, but divisions based on misguided worldly rhetorical assessment of speakers and alignment with them for status. Litfin's work is one of the finest testimonies to the value of analyzing Paul's epistles in light of the philosophical and rhetorical traditions that has yet gone to press. Anyone working in the Corinthian Correspondence or rhetorical criticism of the Pauline Epistles will benefit from this study. It will quickly become a standard in the field, a "must consult" work.

In conclusion it should be mentioned that a dissertation with remarkably similar findings was written independently at Duke University by Stephen Pogoloff, a student of George Kennedy (*Logos and Sophia: The Rhetorical Situation of 1 Corinthians* [SBLDS 134; Atlanta 1992]). Both Litfin and Pogoloff root the divisions at Corinth in rhetorical expectations. Whereas Litfin emphasizes Paul's understanding of his preaching in relation to the rhetorical art, Pogoloff emphasizes the social dynamics of the divisions over rhetoric, especially those involving status, and develops the implications of these dynamics for the social history of the Corinthian church.

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Yann REDALIÉ, *Paul après Paul*. Le temps, le salut, la morale selon les épîtres à Timothée et à Tite (Le Monde de la Bible 31). Genève, Labor et Fides, 1994. 518 p. 15 × 22,5, SFr 60,—

Il volume dedicato allo studio di alcuni testi e temi delle tre lettere pastorali è l'elaborazione della tesi di dottorato alla facoltà teologica dell'Università di Ginevra nel 1992 sotto la direzione di F. Bovon. Nel lavoro di Y. Redalié si riscontra il supporto di un'ampia documentazione che attinge ai commenti e agli studi classici e recenti sulle lettere pastorali. La strutturazione del testo riflette un progetto chiaro: mostrare come nel *corpus* delle pastorali si articola la fedeltà all'annuncio originario e fondante della salvezza di

Dio con la precarietà del tempo e dello spazio in cui vive la comunità dei credenti. In tale ottica si colloca la questione della pseudepigrafia paolina delle pastorali. Essa sta al servizio dello sviluppo e della continuità della tradizione paolina. Il rimando alla figura di Paolo, unico apostolo proclamatore dell'annuncio di salvezza, offre la possibilità di riscoprire l'identità e la fedeltà nella crisi che investe la terza generazione cristiana.

Le tre parti in cui si articola il lavoro di Y. Redalié sottolineano l'interconnessione tra la teologia delle pastorali — cristologia e soteriologia — e la parenesi, tramite il processo di comunicazione — insegnamento — che passa dall'apostolo ai suoi discepoli. L'analisi dei testi di apertura delle tre lettere consente di individuare il rapporto fondante ed esemplare tra maestro e discepolo (1/2 Tm) e quello tra messaggio e messaggero (Tt). Nella seconda parte l'apporto più originale riguarda quello che il Redalié chiama il «calendario soteriologico», cioè la scansione del tempo secondo il ritmo del processo salvifico: dal *kerygma* iniziale o epifania salvifica, al ruolo di Paolo, anello di congiunzione tra teologia e parenesi (etica) e strutture istituzionali. La metafora spaziale della «casa», intesa come «rete di relazioni», predomina nella terza parte dedicata alla parenesi e all'organizzazione della vita comunitaria.

La solida architettura del progetto generale di Y. Redalié ad un'analisi più attenta mostra che alcune parti non sono ben armonizzate nell'insieme. Vi si riscontrano delle ripetizioni e doppioni di tematiche ricorrenti in diversi contesti. Forse è un rischio inevitabile in una lettura trasversale del testo delle tre lettere. L'analisi del testo di 1 Tm 3,14-16 sul «mistero di pietà» si trova alla fine della parte teologico-cristologica (244-256); l'analisi di 1 Tm 3,15 viene ripresa nella trattazione del tema della «casa di Dio» nella parte parenetica (274-277).

Alcune sezioni somigliano ad *excursus* monografici non sempre integrati nella strutturazione del lavoro, dove si alternano analisi di testi e sintesi teologiche. L'autore sui punti esegetici e storici più discussi riporta in modo accurato le diverse posizioni o ipotesi di soluzioni, ma non sempre appare chiara qual è la sua. E questo anche quando una scelta di campo sarebbe richiesta dalla sua argomentazione. Per esempio: non si precisa qual è il significato e il contenuto di *parathēkē* (121-124, conclusione a p. 125-126); sulla struttura di 1 Tm 3,16b non dice qual è la sua scelta (245-247); circa il materiale utilizzato e il senso di 1 Tm 6,11-14, l'autore traccia un bilancio conclusivo, ma non fa una scelta (315-317); anche sulle varie forme di ministero passate in rassegna non si capisce se le pastorali privileggino quella episcopale o un'altra (341-351); sul discusso problema sollevato da M. Dibelius circa il cristianesimo «borghese/civile» delle pastorali si elencano le diverse ipotesi, ma alla fine non si sa cosa pensa Y. Redalié (407-410).

Questi rilievi non intaccano il valore del suo contributo per la comprensione del testo e del messaggio delle lettere pastorali. Esso rappresenta anche un bilancio degli apporti più recenti circa lo studio di questi testi della tradizione paolina.



Dieter SÄNGER, *Die Verkündigung des Gekreuzigten und Israel. Studien zum Verhältnis von Kirche und Israel bei Paulus und im frühen Christentum* (WUNT 75). Tübingen, J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1994. XI-395 p. 16 × 23,5. DM 220,—

Tutti sanno che Auschwitz viene generalmente riconosciuto come simbolo di una sorta di displuvio, verificatosi non solo nella storia in generale ma anche e soprattutto nella storia della teologia. Auschwitz è diventato addirittura per molti un *locus theologicus*, in base al quale rileggere la specifica identità cristiana. Esso ha avuto, se non altro, la provvidenziale funzione di contribuire a riportare prepotentemente il lemma "Israele" in primo piano nelle elaborazioni teologiche di parte cristiana. Non è più possibile ormai ripensare il cristianesimo e le sue peculiarità a prescindere dall'antico e sempre vivo popolo della prima Alleanza.

L'Autore parte proprio da questa coscienza, che egli in quanto tedesco sente particolarmente bruciante. Anzi, volendo stendere uno status quaestionis che si limita di fatto all'area di lingua tedesca, deve quasi scusarsi del fatto, col dire che ciò non avviene per provincialismo ma «per motivi che sono, purtroppo, sia obiettivi che storici» (16). Tuttavia occorre riconoscere che la posta in gioco non riguarda solamente il popolo tedesco, ma investe la coscienza di ogni cristiano che sappia riflettere sulla storia e sulle sue lezioni.

Lo studio perciò vuol essere di carattere fondamentale, cioè si propone lo scopo di ricercare nelle fonti stesse della fede cristiana e quindi nel NT se esista un «antigiudaismo» che debba considerarsi strutturale ad essa. A monte il peso delle tesi enunciate fin dagli anni '70 da R. Ruether, secondo cui il cristianesimo non può non essere anti giudaico, essendosi esso essenzialmente configurato fin dalle origini in aperta polemica contro il giudaismo; secondo l'icastica affermazione dell'Autrice tedesca, l'antigiudaismo sarebbe addirittura la mano sinistra di ogni cristologia. Perciò dopo l'Olocausto l'esegesi del NT dovrebbe proporsi il compito inderogabile di una «de-antigiudaizzazione dell'evangelo». Di qui l'interrogativo di partenza del presente studio: contiene forse davvero la fede cristiana per natura sua un impulso anti giudaico, originariamente collegato con la confessione di Gesù di Nazaret come il Cristo?

Dei sei capitoli che compongono il volume, i primi quattro (1-79) trattano il problema in generale e, mi pare, in maniera sbrigativa e superficiale. Essi procedono in forma sostanzialmente tetica: la possibilità di ampie analisi risulta dall'accumulo di citazioni bibliche o extrabibliche in varie note, senza che i testi ivi segnalati vengano studiati più da vicino (eccetto un Excursus su 2 Cor 3,4-18). In particolare il capitolo dedicato alla presenza dell'antigiudaismo nel NT in generale è piuttosto veloce. Esso serve tuttavia, da una parte, a segnalare la complessità del tema col precisare che la problematica presente nei testi non è di tipo *anti-jüdisch* ma *inner-jüdisch*, e, dall'altra, a delimitare il campo della ricerca che si rivolge preferenzialmente a studiare il caso-Paolo.

Infatti i capitoli 5-6, che costituiscono il corpo dello studio (80-282), analizzano testi e tematiche tipicamente paolini. Nell'economia del lavoro è

fondamentale il cap. 5 (80-197), consacrato allo studio della Lettera ai Romani. All'Autore sta a cuore di non separare i due dati della promessa e della giustificazione; il loro mutuo intreccio rappresenta una duplice, complementare garanzia: sia contro un concetto individualistico di giustificazione, sganciato da ogni prospettiva storicosalvifica, sia a favore del riconoscimento del ruolo svolto da Israele (cf. il  $\pi\rho\omega\tau\omicron\nu$  in Rm 1,16 e la figura di Abramo in Rm 4) in rapporto alla struttura stessa della giustificazione per fede. Il S. presenta chiaramente come non pertinente la tesi di coloro i quali antepongono l'elezione e la promessa di Dio a Israele come superiori e più importanti della posizione dello stesso Israele rispetto all'evangelo: essa significherebbe soteriologicamente che accanto alla fede in Cristo hanno uguale valore tanto la fedeltà alla Torah quanto la persistente attesa messianica giudaica, quindi cristologicamente l'evangelo di Gesù Cristo non sarebbe più il fondamento e il contenuto della speranza umana, e infine ecclesiologicamente l'appartenenza alla comunità dei salvati non sarebbe più legata soltanto alla fede in Cristo. Polemizzando contro i sostenitori di questa tesi, il S. fa giustamente notare, tra l'altro, che il concetto di  $\pi\acute{\iota}\zeta\alpha$  in Rm 11,16b-18 non si riferisce *tout court* a Israele ma semmai ad Abramo e che il tema della *iustificatio impii* non si può declassare spiegandolo solo come dipendente da un momento contingente della missione di Paolo ma è costitutivo del suo messaggio (che anzi si fonda già su elementi anteriori, come dimostra la terminologia affine presente anche nei testi di tradizione come Rm 3,25-26; 4,25; 6,7; 8,29-30; 1 Cor 1,30; 6,11b; 2 Cor 5,21).

Ma ciò che importa maggiormente notare qui è la controtesi sostenuta dall'Autore nell'interpretazione di Rm 11,25-32. Detto in breve, egli ritiene nonostante tutto (per es. con F. Mussner) che per Israele l'apostolo Paolo pensi a una sua propria via di salvezza, sganciata dall'evangelo. La missione pertanto può valere solo nei confronti dei Gentili, non di Israele, la cui ostinazione anzi è vista come una propizia occasione storicosalvifica offerta ai Gentili per il loro innesto. Il S. corregge soltanto questa tesi, connettendo comunque la salvezza di Israele con la fede in Cristo: non in quanto l'evangelo debba essere predicato al popolo della promessa, bensì per il motivo che Dio stesso giustificherà Israele al momento della parusia di Cristo e mediante lui (infatti  $\acute{o}\ \rho\upsilon\omicron\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$  di Rm 11,26b viene inteso in senso cristologico).

Una tesi del genere si presta inevitabilmente a discussione. Il punto fondamentale sta sempre nella valutazione di Rm 10 all'interno del suo contesto. L'Autore cerca di svalutarne di fatto il peso semantico, non accettando la corrente ripartizione di Rm 9-11 in tre sezioni (9,6-29; 9,30-10,21; 11,1-32) e proponendone invece una in due parti: 9,6-11,10 (in cui il tema di fondo sarebbe, doppiamente, che tutto Israele e non solo un resto è il popolo eletto di Dio e che tuttavia finora Dio nel suo beneplacito ha compiuto la sua promessa solo in parte) e 11,11-32 (in cui Paolo si applica a risolvere il problema di Israele col precisare quale sia il senso dell'indurimento della maggior parte di esso, fin quando durerà, e in che modo Dio realizzerà in pienezza la sua promessa). A ciò si aggiunge una supposta distinzione intravista da S. in 10,8-17 tra *Verkündigung* come annuncio missionario da parte di appositi inviati ed *Evangelium* come contenuto dell'annuncio consistente

nella salvezza dischiusa da Dio in Cristo, per dire che «l'incontro con l'evangelo e quindi con Cristo, tale da annullare la disobbedienza di Israele, non si deve pressare in senso kerigmatico; infatti Rm 11,26 dice chiaramente che sarà il Cristo della parusia a togliere l'empietà da Giacobbe e a donare a Israele la fede che procura la salvezza» (179). Ma l'articolazione del pensiero di Paolo in Rm 9-11 è ben più complessa di quanto possa pretendere S.: in particolare, non si può sottovalutare il forte richiamo contenuto nel cap. 10 alla necessità storica, e non solo escatologica, della fede in Cristo; il riporto e la reinterpretazione di Gl 3,5 in Rm 10,13 sono inequivocabili: «Chiunque invocherà il nome del Signore sarà salvato», tanto più che subito prima in 10,12 si riafferma uno dei temi fondamentali di tutta Rm, che cioè «non c'è distinzione fra Giudeo e Greco»! D'altra parte, il repentino cambio di soggetto nella citazione di Isaia in Rm 10,26b-27 («Da Sion uscirà il liberatore... distruggerò i loro peccati») è sempre motivo di perplessità per una interpretazione esclusivamente cristologica del passo, tanto più che il verbo al futuro del v. 26a («Tutto Israele sarà salvato») appare con sufficiente chiarezza come un *passivum divinum*.

Meno problematico mi sembra il cap. 6 del lavoro di S., dove l'Autore intende dimostrare che storicamente il motivo del rifiuto di Cristo da parte di Israele consiste non nella semplice titolatura messianica a lui attribuita, ma nella sua originale, scandalosa connessione con la croce da lui patita. L'analisi tanto storica quanto teologica è molto documentata e interessante. Si noteranno in particolare la sottolineatura del nesso che lega Paolo agli Ellenisti di Gerusalemme passati poi ad Antiochia e la considerazione di Gal 3,1-14 (e quindi del tema della giustificazione per fede) non come espressione di un momento del tutto nuovo nello sviluppo del pensiero paolino, ma semplicemente come una accentuazione polemica di un dato già presente nell'Apostolo fin dalla sua «conversione».

Nell'insieme mi pare che si tratti di un buon libro, la cui utilità non ultima sta nel rinnovare l'attenzione su di un argomento certamente molto importante, apportando nuovi elementi alla discussione in materia.

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William R. BAKER, *Personal Speech-Ethics in the Epistle of James* (WUNT 2/68) Tübingen, J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1995. XVI-364 p. 15,5 × 23

"Time and again during my course of study, upon announcing the title of my thesis I have been met with looks of bewilderment from academics and non-academics alike". That bewilderment might perhaps have suggested that the title, accurate though it may be, is not the most perspicuous or attractive for the modern reader, and that something briefer and more eye-catching might be more suitable: The Unruly Member, for example, The Tongue is a Fire, Bridling the Tongue, or some such phrase, with the

present title added as a sub-title. Certainly it is to be hoped that potential readers will not be deterred by what may at first sight appear rather enigmatic, abstruse, and of doubtful relevance. The book is the fruit of extensive reading in a wide range of ancient texts: Near Eastern Wisdom literature, the Old Testament, Rabbinic and Graeco-Roman literature, Philo and the New Testament. It presents in a generally clear and readable form a mass of background material for the study of James, and its theme is one that is perhaps due for revival in our modern world. The loud-mouthed hotheads who shout before they think would do well to reflect on the wisdom of a bygone age.

In context the words quoted (from the Preface) are part of the author's explanation of a difference between the ancient and the modern world: not only is the term "personal speech-ethics" unfamiliar, but "the concern which it describes is far removed from what people today associate with their endeavor to be ethical"; but it was well understood in ancient times. "Personal speech-ethics" is the author's own attempt "to capture the idea of ethics or morality as applied to interpersonal communication". In the ancient world the spoken word was the primary means of communication and oral communication was "as important to a person's ethical behaviour as deeds — and in some ways more important — since it is in speech that a person most directly conveys his interior thought, motivation and desires" (3). What a person says reveals his or her character, just as much as what he or she does. It was therefore important that speech should be controlled, the tongue bridled or restrained, that words should not be spoken hastily or in anger, that there should be no utterance that could be harmful to others, and so on. It is not difficult to see the relevance of this for James; what is new here is the abundance of illustrative material assembled to show the prevalence of such ideas in the ancient world. It is not, however, a matter of trying to identify the "sources" of James — "the discovery of literal borrowing by the author" of the letter. In the final chapter, after an extensive list of ideas held in common, Dr Baker writes (285) that "it is impossible to determine the specific influence upon the Epistle of James since there are no word for word parallels. It must simply be said that James demonstrates itself attuned to the resounding concern for these particular facets of speech-ethics in the Mediterranean world". James shares many ideas with one or another of the literatures examined, but they do not all occur in every one of these types of literature; and some of the concerns of these other areas find no place in James. From another angle, "by far the largest number of ideas appearing in James of concern to speech-ethics but found in only one other kind of literature involves the New Testament" (286). In other words, these are specifically Christian concerns and ideas. In Dr Baker's view, his study confirms the opinion that the author of James was a Jewish Christian well acquainted with the ideas of Graeco-Roman literature. It should also prompt a reconsideration by those who question the Christian nature of James's ethics: "The author most certainly is Christian as are his speech-ethics" (290).

After a General Introduction and a Specialized Introduction on Speech-Ethics and Wisdom in James, the body of the book is divided into

five main parts, each corresponding to a section of James: the rudiments of speech-ethics (Jas 1,19-27), the evil of the tongue (3,1-12; 4,1-2b), speech in inter-human relationships (3,18; 4,1-2b.11-12; 5,9), speech in human-divine relationships (4,2c-10.13-17; 5,13-18; 1,5-8), and the relationship of speech to truth (5,12). The first chapter of each section discusses the background material, with sub-divisions as may be required (e.g. in Part IV chapter 7 has the sub-heads prayer, praise and blasphemy); the second presents an exegesis and analysis of the relevant section of James. The final chapter (282-290) draws the threads together and states Dr Baker's conclusions. There are nineteen pages of bibliography, and a further 54 of detailed indexes. Dr Baker has missed Birger Pearson's survey in *The New Testament and its Modern Interpreters* (ed. E.J. Epp – G.W. MacRae) (Atlanta 1989), but appears to cover most of the literature Pearson reviews, and adds much of his own. The general tone is conservative, but it is a conservatism of the right type, fully aware of the critical problems which arise in the study of the Scriptures and prepared to discuss them seriously.

This is not a book to be devoured at a sitting. It is generally well and clearly written, but in the nature of the case it makes demands upon the concentration of the reader. Unfortunately it could have been much better — the proof-reading in particular leaves much to be desired. The book was type-set in Singapore, which may account for the vacillation between the British and the American spelling of such words as "offence" and "defence"; and it was printed in Germany, where presumably there was no native English speaker to control the process. The author however would receive proofs, so must bear the burden of responsibility (although strange things have been known to happen *after* the author had passed his proofs!). Bluntly, there are more than 150 errors of one kind or another, more than could possibly be listed in a review. Moreover, there are mistakes which seem to be not just printer's errors, but to go back to the original typescript. Dr Baker has not been well served by his editors.

Doubts begin to arise in the Preface, which refers to "the now closed King's College Library" — that is at the very least misleading: the library was not closed down permanently, but moved to a new and purpose-built building. The list of abbreviations contains some curious duplications (at xiii *de aud.* and at xiv *de recta* both stand for Plutarch's *De recta ratione audiendi*), and an enigma that calls for elucidation. Three successive items are:

<i>Pan.</i>	Pesikta de Rab Kahana
PesK.	Pesikta Rabbati
Pes. Rab.	Pesiqta Rabbati

There appears to be nothing in the index to correspond to *Pan.* (usually the abbreviation for the *Panarion* of Epiphanius), but at 323 it contains two entries, *Pesikta Rab Kahana* and *Pesikta Rabbati*. All the pages listed under the first head refer to Pes.Rab., usually to Braude's edition but in one case cited from *A Rabbinic Anthology*; three of those under the second (plus Pes. 118a at 266) are cited as Pes., and two more appear as PesK. (*RA*) — i.e. they are quoted from the anthology. There are thus two texts, the *Pesikta Rabbati*, edited by Braude and cited as Pes.Rab., and the *Pesikta de Rab*

Kahana, cited as Pes. or PesK., and the index has confused the two (see for these texts E. Schürer, *History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ* [ed. G. Vermes and F. Millar 1973] I, 96-97). Somebody has been rather careless here!

Elsewhere (70) Philo is quoted as saying "Some desire to keep unspoken what should be told or to keep what should be silent left unsaid", which does not make sense. The Greek (*Spec.* 4.90) is ἡσυχάστεα λέγειν: to speak what should be kept silent. Further on (92) we are told "Dibelius points out that ποιηταὶ λόγου and ἀκροαταὶ (λόγου) are excellent examples of Hebrew idiom in James. In Classical Greek, the former would normally refer to an orator and the latter to a legislator". How a hearer could be said to be a legislator is not entirely clear — but what Dibelius actually says (146) is: "ποιητῆς λόγου gilt als Semitismus wie 1 Makk 2,67 ποιητῆς τοῦ νόμου, und zwar mit Recht. Denn das erste mußte dem Griechen vom Redner, das zweite vom Gesetzgeber gelten". It is not the ἀκροαταὶ here but the ποιητῆς τοῦ νόμου in 1 Macc that would suggest the legislator. At page 97 there is a somewhat laboured discussion of the ἀλλά in Jas 1,26, which some apparently have found to be awkward "where it is stationed between the participles"; but surely it is meant to point a contrast. Dibelius (153) notes: "Die Ungenauigkeit der Konstruktion erklärt sich mit dem Bestreben, einen doppelten Gegensatz einzuführen: θρησκός - μὴ χαλιναγωγῶν und δοκεῖ - ἀπατῶν". At any rate the ἀλλά could not possibly have stood before the first participle and yielded any sense. In a note on this page there is a reference to a proposed textual alteration "found in p.47", but there is no indication where this page is. Presumably it should be P<sup>47</sup>, but that is the Chester Beatty papyrus of Revelation, and nothing to do with James; or is it the Bodmer papyrus P<sup>74</sup>?

One could go on — but to the detriment of the book, and that would be unfair. There is much to criticise, as indicated above, but the flaws should not be allowed to outweigh the positive aspects. Dr Baker can justly claim to have shown that "personal speech-ethics" is a major theme in the Epistle of James, although he carefully notes that it is not the only one; also that this was a matter of concern to people of different backgrounds and cultures in the ancient world; and further that there are gradations in the occurrence of these ideas, so that any discussion has to be nuanced and pay attention to differences as well as similarities. And finally, he leaves us with the question whether there is not a need for just something of this kind in the world of today. If a man's word could be taken to be as good as his bond, if we could see a real fulfilment of the motto long ago chosen for the British Broadcasting Corporation ("Nation shall Speak Peace unto Nation"), if Catholic and Protestant in Northern Ireland, Jew and Arab in Israel, Serb, Croat and Bosnian Muslim in what once was Yugoslavia, could learn to set aside their age-long hatreds and live in harmony together, practising the speech ethics of the ancient world, it could make a tremendous difference for the whole of our human race.

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### Varia

James C. VANDERKAM, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Today*. Grand Rapids, MI, William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company—London, SPCK, 1994. XIII-210 p. 15 × 23. £9.99

This excellent book on the Dead Sea Scrolls is meant for all interested parties. Up-to-date, comprehensive, and level-headed, it has been written by a professor of biblical studies at the University of Notre Dame. Its author is one of those recently coopted into the international team for the publication of fragmentary Qumran Cave 4 texts. He has been a student of Old Testament pseudepigrapha ever since his graduate studies at Harvard University, has published the critical text of the Ethiopic *Book of Jubilees* in the Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium, and has been preparing the Qumran texts of *Jubilees* in the Oxford series, *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert*.

VanderKam first describes the Qumran discoveries (caves and community center) and the methods of dating the scrolls and other archaeological remains. This is followed in the second chapter by a survey of the manuscripts recovered (biblical and targumic texts, tefillin, mezuzot; apocryphal and pseudepigraphical texts; other nonbiblical texts: commentaries and paraphrases; legal, liturgical, poetic, sapiential, and eschatological writings). Third, the identification of the Qumran group is taken up: the Essene hypothesis (which VanderKam eventually espouses); the problems which that hypothesis encounters and rival identifications (Sadducees, Jerusalem Origins). Fourth, the Qumran Essenes are described, in a sketch not only of the group's history, but also of its teachings and practices (predeterminism, dualism, idea of the New Covenant, mode of scriptural interpretation, messianism, and worship). Fifth, the impact of the scrolls on the study of Old Testament begins with the status of Old Testament textual criticism prior to the Qumran discoveries and continues with the information that has come from the scrolls and their impact on the study of the canon. In the sixth chapter, VanderKam deals with the scrolls and the New Testament, emphasizing not only the differences between these two bodies of literature, but also setting forth their similarities: of language and phraseology, of teaching and practice (shared property, common meal, calendar, messianism, biblical interpretation); treating also whether the Greek papyri of Cave 7 could be fragments of New Testament books and whether John the Baptist could have been related to the Qumran Essenes. Finally, an account is devoted to controversies about the Scrolls: the editing and publishing of them, and the news-making incidents since 1989.

From the foregoing survey of the book's contents one can see how comprehensive has been VanderKam's treatment. The only area not treated as it might have deserved is Aramaic and Hebrew philology. The scrolls have made an immense contribution to our knowledge of the kind of Aramaic and Hebrew spoken in Palestine in the last pre-Christian centuries and the first century of this era. VanderKam mentions this in a passing sentence, but it could have been developed more, especially since people are

always interested in the language(s) that Jesus spoke. In the Qumran texts we have finally got extensive Aramaic texts that are relatively contemporary with Jesus, and these texts are written in a form of Aramaic that is not identical with that found in the classic targums and rabbinical literature of AD 200 and later, with which scholars in the past have been wont to compare the Aramaic substratum of his sayings in the Gospels. But I cannot fault the author for not having treated it as I would have.

What is good about this book is that VanderKam has not tried to be sensational. The positions that he adopts on many issues that might be controversial are mainstream. So there is no reason why a reviewer would want to warn potential readers about this or that detail. VanderKam has done well to expose the preposterous explanation of the scrolls by Norman Golb, of the University of Chicago, who has called in question the Essene relationship of Khirbet Qumran and maintained that the scrolls deposited in the various caves actually came from libraries in Jerusalem. Similarly, the outlandish explanation of Pauline Donceel-Voûte, that the room, which R. de Vaux, the original excavator of Khirbet Qumran, had identified as the community's scriptorium, was actually a dining-room — on the second floor! VanderKam has likewise laid to rest, perhaps too kindly, the theories of R.H. Eisenman and B. Thiering about the Christian character of the scrolls.

VanderKam's treatment of the Greek fragments of Cave 7 and the theory of J. O'Callaghan that most of them come from New Testament texts is run of the mill: "his novel view has not carried the day" (166). He makes no mention of the Symposium of 1991 at Eichstätt in Germany, at which a number of participants sided with O'Callaghan, or of the rephotographing of the 7Q5 (claimed to be Mark 6,52-53) by the Division of Forensic Science of the Israeli National Police (April 1992). The enlargement of the new photograph reveals that one must read with O'Callaghan in line 2 α]πορον η (see B. Mayer [ed.], *Christen und Christliches in Qumran?* [Eichstätt Studien 32; Regensburg 1992] 242). C.P. Thiede even quotes a letter from A. R. Millard of Liverpool to the effect that a new computer-analysis of the readings of the five lines as proposed by O'Callaghan against the background of the entire corpus of Greek literature corresponds "only to Mark 6,52-53", (ibid., 240 [his emphasis]). But even with this new development, *adhuc sub iudice lis est*.

In speaking of methods for dating the scrolls, VanderKam takes up palaeography, accelerator mass spectrometry, and internal allusions. Under the first he mentions only the "standard study" of F.M. Cross ("The Development of the Jewish Scripts", *The Bible and the Ancient Near East: Essays in Honor of William Foxwell Albright* [ed. G. E. Wright] [Garden City, NY 1961] 133-202). This may give the impression that the palaeographic study has been all the work of one scholar alone. Such an accusation has been levelled in the past against Cross. But J.T. Milik has also contributed much to the same palaeographic study, at times even independently of Cross, and has come up with remarkably similar results. Milik's views are briefly set forth in his book, *Ten Years of Discovery in the Wilderness of Judaea* (Stb 16; London 1959) 133-136, where he might seem



to be wholly dependent on the work of Cross, which was not the case. Cf. N. Avigad, "The Palaeography of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Documents", *Aspects of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Scripta hierosolymitana 4; Jerusalem 1958) 56-87.

Apropos of the dating by AMS, VanderKam's exposé is in general well done, but something is awry in Table 1 (18). 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> is said to bear an "internal date" of "125-100 B.C." and a "palaeographical date" of "335-327 B.C.". The dates seem to have been moved to the left; but that is not the whole story. 125-100 BC is palaeographically correct, but what about 335-327 BC? It does not correspond to what appears in the report in *Atiqot* 20 (1991) 27-32, where the chart shows an overlap of the AMS dating with the palaeographic; or in *Radiocarbon* 34 (1992) 843-849. VanderKam admits that, even though the AMS dating "does not prove the palaeographical dates are exact", it shows that "the palaeographers have placed them [the scrolls] in the correct periods" and ruled out the medieval dating once claimed by S. Zeitlin (19). But his summation is too minimal. Although he is aware of the margin of error admitted by the palaeographers, he says nothing of the margin of error of the AMS method. When a margin of error is admitted in both cases, there is a remarkable overlapping, except in the one case (4Q534), which VanderKam does discuss. AMS is, then, an unexpected confirmation of the palaeographic dating, *pace* N. Golb (see M. O. Wise et al. [eds.], *Methods of Investigation of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Khirbet Qumran Site* [Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences 722; New York 1994] 441-453, esp. 448-452).

Several times VanderKam refers to 4QpNah and its allusion to an event in Palestinian history reported by Josephus (*Ant.* 13.14.2 §380; *J. W.* 1.4.6 §97), who tells of Alexander Jannaeus's "crucifixion" of 800 Pharisees in retaliation for their inviting Demetrius III Eucerus to march against Jerusalem. VanderKam says that Josephus reports how he "hanged" the 800 (20, 50, but correct p. 106). This might seem picayune, but the point is that 4QpNah speaks of it as a "hanging", not Josephus, and the difference of terminology has a bearing on the understanding of New Testament assertions about Christ having been "hanged on a tree" (Acts 5,30; 10,39). The Qumran text and its Josephus counterpart show that by Roman times crucifixion was indeed called by Jews a form of "hanging".

In speaking of the Qumran fragments of the Book of Tobit, VanderKam says that "parts of all fourteen chapters are represented" (35); he should have added, except for chaps. 9-11.

In explaining Cave 4 Enoch fragments, he refers to Job 38,7 as an Old Testament place where "sons of God" has been used to mean "angels". True, but then he might have added 11QtgJob 30,5, where that phrase is translated כל מלאכי אלהא "all the angels of God", which would have strengthened the point he was making.

It is puzzling to see the Genesis Apocryphon listed among "new Pseudepigrapha" (42), because nowhere in the text does the author try to hide his identity beneath the name of some ancient worthy (36). This text ought really to be classified, as did H. L. Ginsberg years ago, as

“parabiblical literature”. One wonders why 4Q246 (the so-called Son of God text) is referred to as a “Noah text” (42). In referring to 11QMelchizedek (53,171), VanderKam maintains that it depicts Melchizedek as “an angelic creature”. That is not the way to put it. The Essenes knew that Genesis 14 spoke of Melchizedek as a priest of Salem, hence a human being. 11QMelchizedek speaks of him as having taken his place in the divine council and בקרב אלהים (Ps 82,1). It makes him a heavenly being or, perhaps, apotheosizes him; but it does not make him an “angel”.

In explaining predeterminism in Essene thinking, VanderKam quotes the passage from Josephus where he describes Essene belief in fate (76). He rightly cites this statement of Josephus, but he should have explained why the Jewish historian calls it “fate”. Josephus, I suspect, was trying to make Essene predestination intelligible to Greek readers. Similarly, VanderKam should have explained the difference between resurrection and immortality (78-81).

In discussing marriage and the Essenes, VanderKam notes the difference between the data in 1QS and 1QSa (90-91), but surprisingly says of the latter that it “was copied on the same manuscript as the Manual” (91). He should look again at DJD 1, pl. XXII and p. 107-108, where it seems to be indicated that 1QSa was an appendix, written on a piece of skin that had been sewed to the end of col. 11 of 1QS. So it may have been part of the same scroll, but not necessarily part of the same text or written at the same time. It may reflect a different period in the community’s existence.

VanderKam wonders about the authority of the Temple Scroll in the Qumran community (157). Here I would have expected some discussion of its relation to the “Book of Meditation” (ספר ההגיה), a book to which authority was attributed (CD 10,6; 13,2).

VanderKam is inclined to go along with those who see in 4QMMT ideas that are opposed to Pharisaic views and “coincide with Essene and, in some cases, Sadducean positions” (60). That they are opposed to Pharisaic views and coincide with Essene is correct; that they coincide with Sadducean positions still has to be shown. There is no evidence that the Sadducees ever held such views. The passages to which he refers (93-95) may well be vocalized in the Mishnah as *Ṣaddûqîm/n*, but that is a modern vocalization found only in recent editions pointed before the Qumran discoveries. The Mishnaic passages speaking of a controversy between Pharisees and *Ṣdwqym/n* refer rather to that between Pharisees and the *bēnê Ṣādôq* of Qumran. That is the way the Sages of the Mishnah referred to the Qumran sect, Zadokites (as A. Schechter once put it). See further my forthcoming article in *Heythrop Journal*.

Finally, an Italian translation of the book has appeared: *Manoscritti del Mar Morto: il dibattito recente oltre le polemiche*. Traduzione dall’inglese di Gian Luigi Prato. Roma, Città Nuova Editrice, 1995.

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